





MEMOIRS

O F

COUNT LALLY.





# MEMOIRS

OF

## COUNT LALLY,

FROM

His embarking for the EAST INDIES, as Commander  
in Chief of the FRENCH Forces in that Country, to  
his being sent Prisoner of War to ENGLAND, after  
the Surrender of PONDICHERY.

CONSISTING OF

### PIECES

Written by HIMSELF and Addressed to his  
JUDGES,

IN

ANSWER to the CHARGES brought against him  
by the ATTORNEY GENERAL of his MOST  
CHRISTIAN MAJESTY.

Illustrated by a MAP of his Military Operations  
in the EAST INDIES.

To which are added

ACCOUNTS of the prior Part of his LIFE,  
his CONDEMNATION, and EXECUTION ;

With such other PIECES, (most of them produced on  
his TRIAL) as were thought most necessary to  
illustrate his civil and military Character.

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# P R E F A C E.

**I**F there is any human institution so intrinsically excellent as to require no comparisons to recommend it, it must, certainly, be the method of administering justice, both distributive and vindictive, in England, where no man's life or liberty, good name or fortune, let his lot be ever so low, can be taken from him, but solemnly in the face of the whole world, according to laws made before the fact laid to his charge was committed, and by the unanimous verdict of his equals, and equals, who may be said to be of his own choosing, considering the latitude of exception allowed him, men, whose very imperfections, as productive of sympathy, are a security for his being tenderly treated, whilst the presence and authority of stated and professed Judges sufficiently secure that free course to legislative indignation, which the public safety indispensably requires.

But, though no comparisons may be requisite to evince this intrinsic excellence of the English judicature, the history of what passes in foreign tribunals may be highly useful to make us attend to it so as to reconcile us to those government burthens, which, however heavy in themselves must appear light, when weighed against the blessings secured to us in consequence of them.

Independent, therefore of the pleasure the public may have in perusing the following *Memours*; as written by and giving some account of, a man whose long and distinguished services had gained him the approbation of his Prince and the esteem and confidence of a great body of his fellow subjects and, at last, recommended him to a command which brought on him the eyes of all Europe and Asia, we hope they will prove still more beneficial by throwing some light on the treatment he met with at his trial condemnation and execution, from the highest and reputedly most impartial tribunal of a state considered, even by many amongst ourselves, as the best governed of all Europe.

This unfortunate gentleman was the son of a Captain in Lord Dillon's regiment, one of those which went over into France upon the capitulation of Lunerick, by a French  
Lady

Lady of distinction. As soon as born, he was, according to the custom of the French army, entered a soldier in his father's company, and, continuing under his tutorage till near fifteen, made a great proficiency in all those accomplishments, for which the young Nobility of France, when born with a happy genius, and conducted by proper masters, are generally remarkable. As the son of an Officer of distinguished merit, he could not fail of gaining an early acquaintance with arms, at the same time that his being, by his mother, allied into some of the best families of France gave him a much better opportunity, than most of his Irish fellow soldiers had, of being early initiated in high and polite life. These advantages, added to that of a handsome person, distinguished young Lally so much, that, by the age of nineteen, he saw himself at the head of a company in the Irish Brigade, an honour, which few of the unhappy adventurers in that brave corps have been able to obtain after as many years constant service in the field, but which, however, he seemed to be well intitled to by an unquestionable courage; an excellent understanding, and that martial air, which, even without any extraordinary degree of sense or knowledge, has been often found to have such influence in a Commander.

“ However well qualified young Lally appeared to be for military command, he was thought equally fitted for civil employment. Accordingly, at an age that most young gentlemen, unless those of the highest birth, would think themselves honoured by a place in some of the inferior departments of the state, he saw himself suddenly promoted to the head of one of the highest.” At five and twenty, he was sent by the French Court to negotiate some business at that of Russia, where his dexterity and fidelity gained him the confidence of the French King his master, and his wit and address a recommendation from the Czarina herself; in consequence of which he, on his return to France, began to be considered as one of the most rising characters at the Court of Versailles a judgement, which was soon after verified by his being promoted to the command of a regiment, in which station he behaved so well in every service, in which the Irish Brigade was employed, particularly at the memorable battle of Fontenoy, where it suffered so much, and at the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, as to be justly esteemed one of the best foldiers in all France.

In the year 1745 when the young Pretender invaded or rather stole into, these kingdoms, Monsieur Lally came over into England, under a pretence of laying claim to some lands  
which

which he affirmed his father had been possessed of in Ireland, and he himself had a legal title to ; but, in reality, to act the part of a spy for the young Pretender ; assist him with his counsels , and stir up the malecontents in the southern parts of Great Britain, by promises of money and other assistance , and in these bold attempts he is said to have had some success, till his dangerous practices were discovered and laid open to the Duke of Cumberland, who was not to be amused by such idle pretences ; and, accordingly, gave orders for his being seized. But Lally, who had, it seems, notice of the storm, availed himself so well of some slight knowledge his late Royal Highness the Prince of Wales had of him, that, instead of being imprisoned as a spy, he was only, through the interposition of that generous and humane Prince, ordered to leave the kingdom in four and twenty hours, contrary, it is said, to the Duke of Cumberland's opinion.

Such was Lally's infatuation at this time, that it was with great reluctance he left the kingdom. But he was not long in France, before the young Pretender's affairs began to wear so bad an aspect, that he had reason to thank Providence for having so early extricated him from them, and thereby prevented his running such lengths, as it would

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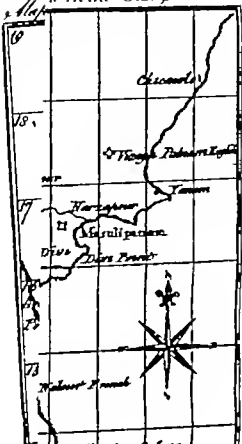
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Map of the East Indies

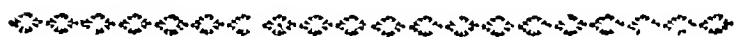




# M E M O I R S

O F

## COUNT LALLY.



### JOURNAL OF HIS EXPEDITION TO THE EAST INDIES.

**I**N the month of August 1756, Count Lally was appointed to command an expedition to the East Indies, for which the court had destined six millions of livres in money, six battalions, and three men of war, to be joined by what ships the Company could fit out for the same purpose.

The Chevalier de Soupire, Major General, who was to command under him, sailed from Port l'Orient the 30th of December following, with two millions of livres in money, and two battalions.

On the 20th of February of the year 1757, the Count d'Aché set sail from Brest with Count Lally himself, two millions of livres in money, and two battalions but, on an accident happening one of his vessels in clearing the mouth of the harbour, was obliged to put in again, and detained by contrary winds till the 2d of May The two remaining millions, and two remaining battalions, were to be immediately sent after him from Port l'Orient

During this interval, the situation of Canada determines the court to take from Count Lally two millions, two battalions and two men of war; that is, above one third of the forces it had been originally agreed to give him

Upon this, the Counts Lally and d'Aché write jointly to court, that they would no longer be answerable for the success of the expedition and Count d'Aché goes so far as to throw up his commission But they receive positive orders to put to sea again at all events, with a promise to Count Lally, that in six months the money and forces now withheld should be sent after him; which, however, they never were

The Count d'Aché, besides about ten weeks, which his returning into harbour cost

cost him, spends twelve months in the passage. Thus, the first event robs Count Lally of one third of his forces; and the second gives Admiral Stevens, who did not sail from England till three months after the Count d'Aché sailed from France, an opportunity of reaching the coast of Coromandel two months before him; whence it may be gathered, that, had the Count d'Aché made the best of his way for the Indies \*, as Admiral Stevens did, he would have got there three months, at least, before him; and even five months and a half, had he continued his voyage, as advised by all his officers, on his first leaving the harbour of Brest. Now, two

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\* To make the best of one's way for a place, is not, to stop to pick up a little merchant ship, not worth 40,000 livres, and lose two months to keep her by lying by every night, it is not, to put into port for six weeks in order to dispose of her cargo, and then load her again; it is not, to lose six weeks in order to avoid the Cape during the Equinox, it is not, to steer the longest course from the Isle of France to Pondichery, in order to avoid the second Equinox, it is not, to alter one's course by night, to get out of sight of the first sail descried in the day time, it is not, to take in all one's sails, at the appearance of every gust of wind, in passing the line, since it is only by the help of those gusts the line can be passed. All this, however, has been done. In a word, to make the best of one's way for a place, is to endeavour to reach it by the shortest course, and with the greatest speed, and this is what has not been done.

months, nay one month, gained by the Count d'Aché on Admiral Stevens, would have enabled the former to prevent the junction of the latter with Admiral Pococke and even rendered him master of the Indian seas. It would have rendered Count Lally master of Fort St. David Madras and the whole coast of Coromandel; in a word, it would have been sufficient to enable the French to drive the English out of Bengal, where they had not eight hundred regular troops. *There is not a man who knows any thing of the Indies, bold enough to doubt it*

The Chevalier de Soupire debarked at Pondichery eight months before Count Lally, and of course, had a shorter passage by four months. At his landing the English could not bring one hundred men into the field and the Chevalier de Soupire had two thousand. Madras was still open, as in the time of Monsieur de Bourdonnais; Fort St. David was in ruins and garrisoned by sixty invalids; it was the work of three weeks, at most, to carry these two places. But the Chevalier de Soupire an utter stranger to the method of making war in that country suffered himself to be governed by Monsieur de Leyrit governor of Pondichery for the Company who kept him all that time inactive and thereby, wasted the money, which the Cheva-

Chevalier had brought with him from Europe.

Six months before the Chevalier's arrival in the Indies, the English had driven the Company out of all their possessions in Bengal, the most valuable they had in all the Indies; and that through the supineness of this same Monsieur de Lamoignon, and in spite of the reiterated and most pressing solicitations of the council of Chandernagor for a reinforcement of three hundred men, which would have been sufficient to save these possessions.

On the 28th of April 1758 the Count d'Aché sent on shore at Pondichery Count Lally, some of the Count's principal officers, and some chests of money. The day following, as he was preparing to come to an anchor in the road of that place, he was surprised by the English squadron four leagues to the windward of it. He was worsted in the engagement, and in his retreat lost a ship of seventy-four guns, to the leeward of Pondichery.

Count Lally, within three hours after his landing, invested Cudaloor, a place five leagues from Pondichery, with 800 men, and was master of it the third day. It must be allowed, that this service might



have been performed before by the Chevalier de Soupire with 8000 men. The garrison then consisted of but ten invalids. This place, in the hands of the French, would have awed Fort St. David, and have prevented the reparation of its fortifications, as well as the construction of two exterior works built of stone, which greatly retarded Count Lally's operations against it.

Immediately after this, Count Lally laid siege to Fort St. David, and on the 2d of June entered the place, after seventeen days open trenches. He then directly turned his arms against Devi-cottah, a fort capable of making a vigorous defence; notwithstanding which the enemy abandoned it at his approach, leaving seventy pieces of cannon behind them. On the 10th of June Count Lally returned to Pondichery.

The Count d'Ache, who, during the siege of Fort St. David, was continually sending word to Count Lally, that he was afraid of the English squadron's coming every moment to attack him under the cannon of Pondichery, at last thought proper to change his position, and get sixty leagues to the windward of that place nearer to the line; and that the very day Fort St. David surrendered.

Upon this, Count Lally, who was for attacking Madras, assembles the council of Pondichery; and the council dispatch a vessel after the Count d'Aché with a summons to return. The Count d'Aché returns, but declares it impossible for him to face the enemy, and favour the march of Count Lally.

Monfieur de Leyrit then fignifies to Count Lally, that he would not take upon him to fubfift the troops above fifteen days longer; and that he could not think of any refource but that of marching them into Tanjore, fifty leagues from Pondichery to the fouth, in order to claim a debt due by the Rajah of that country, upon which it is to be obferved, that it was fcarce fix weeks, fince the Count d'Aché had brought Monfieur de Leyrit two millions, and that Count Lally's conquests had produced him one million, of which fix hundred thoufand livres accrued from the taking of Fort St. David.

As Count Lally could not pretend to attack Madras, protected by a fquadron, without the affiftance of another fquadron to oppofe to it, and Pondichery could no longer fubfift his troops, he found himfelf under a neceffity, at the instances of Monfieur de Leyrit and Father Lavaur, to go and

look for subsistence in Tanjore, till the approach of the stormy season should oblige the two squadrons to take shelter in some distant port

The Rajah of Tanjore having denied the debt claimed by Monsieur de Leyrit, Count Lally by the advice of a council of war marched up to his capital and in hopes of intimidating him, planted five pieces of cannon against it

Six days after the erection of this battery, the army receives an account, that the Count d'Ache had been again attacked by the English squadron and again worsted by it before Karical that he had thereupon retired to Pondichery, thirty leagues from Karical the only place by which Count Lally could communicate with Pondichery, and which the enemy kept blocked up

The Chevalier de Soupire and Monsieur de Leyrit write at the same time to Count Lally 'that the English were in march with a body of eight hundred men against Pondichery; and that the Chevalier de Soupire who had but six hundred, was preparing to abandon the environs to them Upon this, Count Lally having called a council of war on the 8th of August, it was therein decided that the

the French should evacuate Tanjore on the 10th, in order to protect their own settlements; and, in consequence of this resolution, the heavy baggage, and the sick and wounded, were sent off under a detachment on the 9th.

The main body of the army was to have begun its march the evening of the day following. But in the morning the Indians made a fally, which was repulsed by fifty men of the regiment of Lorraine posted before the gate at which the Indians issued. We had a soldier wounded in this affair, whereas the enemy lost between one hundred and one hundred and fifty men. In the meantime fifty Black horse, commanded by a general of cavalry, penetrated to the tent of Count Lally, which stood by itself in the middle of the plain, and about a quarter of a league from the army, on pretence of coming over to him. Count Lally, hearing of their approach, starts out of bed, and comes to receive them in his shirt and drawers, but the Black general, instead of making his submission to the Count, made a stroke at him with his sabre, and, the Count having been fortunate enough to ward it off with a stick, was going to give a second, when some lucky hand cleaved his head in two. Of the fifty horse, that followed him, eight and twenty fell at the feet of Count Lally, and the rest threw

threw themselves into a pond that lay before his tent. We had but one hussar wounded, and one Black belonging to the stables killed, in this affair, which was over in about half an hour. In the evening, the army set out, pursuant to the orders given the day before, and evacuated Tanjore, after raising 440,000 livres in it in money, besides subsisting two months at the expence of the inhabitants.

Count Lally, at whose approach to Pondichery the English thought proper to retreat towards Madras, on his arrival there makes new instances to the Count d'Aché not to abandon the coast and to induce him to stay, offers half the army to recruit his squadron. But the Count d'Aché, deaf to all his prayers and arguments sails for the Madagascar islands on the 1st of September the very next day after the Count's arrival, without giving him time to get ready his dispatches for court. The council of Pondichery protest against his departure. Thus it appears that in this voyage the Count d'Aché did not remain above four months in the Indian seas. The English squadron left mistress of them, after cruising two and twenty days before Pondichery, sailed for Bombay on the coast of Malabar.

During this interval of five and twenty days which Count Lally spent at Pondichery  
he

he found means to carry on a private correspondence with the commanding officer of twelve hundred Blacks, who garrisoned Arcot; and, the very day the English squadron quitted the coast, moved towards that place, which, after making himself master of four forts that lay in his way, two of them by storm, he took possession of in the name of Salabett-zingue, reserving the revenues of it to the Company.

Count Lally had sent for Messieurs de Buffy and Moracin with the troops under them, one in the Décan, the other at Masuli-patnam; and communicated to them his design upon Madras. But these gentlemen agreed amongst themselves to bring along with them but the third of their forces; and even on their arrival, applied to him for a reinforcement of one thousand men, with orders to return to those they had left behind them, with a view, no doubt, of making war, on their own account, upon the purses of the Black Princes in their neighbourhood.

Count Lally, who knew no enemies the Company had in India but the English, refused to comply with such unseasonable demands; and, from that day forward, these gentlemen, far from assisting him, let slip no opportunity of traversing his operations, and had but too good success.

Count

Count Lally, on the first news of the English having made a descent in the province adjoining that of Masuli-patnam, orders Monsieur Moracin to return to it. Monsieur Moracin refuses; sends him word that he is dissatisfied with the Company, and is determined to quit their service. Count Lally complains of his disobedience to Monsieur de Leyrit and the council directing them at the same time to order Monsieur Moracin back to his command, and protesting that he would hold him answerable for the consequences in case he did not return. But Monsieur Moracin persisted in his refusal. Six weeks after this Monsieur de Conflans was defeated; and five months after his defeat Masuli patnam was surprised.

Count Lally after a stay of five days at Arcot and constantly refusing the incredible offers made him by Monsieur de Bussy in a word 460 000 livres payable in three hours, to be sent back with a body of troops into the Decan returns to Pondichery. Monsieur de Bussy, on his side finding that he could not derive from the sacrificing of this sum any present increase to his fortune in the Indies (for with this body of troops he could have raised four five nay perhaps, ten millions of livres) thought proper to employ it in securing to himself protectors in Europe. He sends

lends one hundred thousand crowns of it to the Count d'Estaing, on his estate, at three per cent. He then lends, and even gives away, more of it to some officers returning to Europe. Some of the principal of these officers refused his offers, in particular, the Chevalier de Crillon, to whom he offered two thousand Louis d'ors, telling him, that he did not know what to do with them. All this while the army was without pay, though this same Monsieur de Buffly had, on his arrival, given Count Lally to understand, that he was come with 240,000 livres for the service of the Company, provided he, Count Lally, would be his security for the money, as he did not chuse to have any dealings at all with that Body.

Count Lally, on his return to Pondichery, calls a mixed council, and moves, that the forces should avail themselves of the absence of the English squadron to attack Madras. Monsieur de Leyrit is the only person to oppose this motion, alledging, that he had not wherewith to pay, or even subsist, the army. For this very reason, the rest of the members approve it; and four or five of them, with the Count d'Estaing at their head, offers to contribute 80,000 livres in plate, towards the attempt. Monsieur de Buffly, who,

fix



ments. 'An Armenian' offers to lend the chest 24,000 livres, and Count Lally becomes personally bound for it.

Monfieur de Buffy had in his retinue ministers from all the Black Lords in the country about Madras. Count Lally will not take upon him to guess the use he made of them. Monfieur de Buffy having acquainted Count Lally that one of these Black Lords offered for a safeguard 18 000 livres, 12 000 for Count Lally, and 6,000 for himself. Count Lally thought proper to agree to it requesting Monfieur de Buffy to pay the whole to the Treasurer. But Monfieur de Buffy contented himself with paying the 12,000 livres intended for Count Lally, and thought proper to keep the remainder.

Count Lally has since discovered, that this Black Lord had sent 24,000 livres to Monfieur de Buffy. Monfieur de Buffy must have considered perquisites of this kind as very lawful, since he made no scruple of giving it under his hand.

Some days after, Monfieur de Buffy sent Count Lally eleven Pancartes in the Persian language to sign with a letter to acquaint him that the object of them was to procure provisions for the army. Count Lally, who

at

at Monsieur de Buffly's request, had already put his hand to a great number of these Pancartes, seeing that he never received any answer to them, and that there did not arrive a grain of rice the more at the army, had the curiosity to get two of them translated; when he found them to be no other than exemptions from the tribute, which the Black Lords they were to be sent to owed the Master of Arcot. Count Lally, one may suppose, did not sign them, but then he refused returning them to Monsieur de Buffly.

It was, therefore, with a fund not exceeding 40,000 livres that Count Lally formed a park of artillery, erected a forge, and the day but one after, the 16th, a battery of cannon and mortars, with which, however, all he could propose was to ruin the place, and then return to Arcot.

Commodore de Leguille was by this time arrived at the Island of Mauritius, with four men of war and three millions of livres destined for Pondichery, but, just as he was about to leave that island, the Count d'Aché unfortunately arrived there, and hindered him from proceeding.

and every the said Forfeitures, we do by these Presents, of our especial Grace certain Knowledge and mere Motion clearly and wholly for us our Heirs and Successors, give, and grant unto The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies And further all and every the said Offenders for their said Contempt to suffer Imprisonment during our Pleasure and such other Punishment, as to us our Heirs or Successors for so high a Contempt shall seem meet and convenient and not to be in anywise delivered until they and every of them shall become bound unto the said Governor for the Time being in the sum of £1000 at the least at no Time then after during this Present Grant, to sail or traffick into any of the said East Indies, contrary to our express Commandment in that Behalf herein set down and published And further for the better Encouragement of Merchants Strangers or others to bring in Commodities into our Realm we for us, our Heirs and Successors, do grant unto The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies that they and their Successors, may from Time to Time for any Consideration or Benefit, to be taken to their own Use, grant or give License to any the Person or Persons to sail trade or Traffic into or from any the said East Indies so as such License be granted or given before such Goods Wares and Merchandizes be laid on Land and as such License be made by the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies for the Time being under their Common Seal And further of our especial Grace certain Knowledge and mere Motion we have condescended and granted and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors, we do condescend and grant unto The said Governor and Company of merchants of London Trading into the East Indies and their Successors that we our Heirs and Successors during the said Term of Fifteen Years will not grant Liberty License or Power to any Person or Persons whatsoever, contrary to the Tenor

of these our Letters Patents, to sail, pass, trade or traffick, to the said East-Indies, or into or from the Islands, Ports, Havens, Cities, Towns or Places aforesaid, or any of them, contrary to the true Meaning of these Presents, without the Consent of The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, or the most Part of them And our Will and Pleasure is, and hereby we do also ordain, that it shall and may be lawful, to and for The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, or the more Part of them, whereof the Governor for the Time being, or his Deputy, to be one, to admit into and to be of the said Company, all such Apprentices, to any of The said Fellowship or Company, and all such Servants and Factors, of and for the said Company, and all such other, as to them, or the most Part of them, present at any Court, held for the said Company, the Governor, or his Deputy, being one, shall be thought fit and agreeable, with the Orders and Ordinances to be made for the Government of the said Company Provided always, that if any of the Persons, before named and appointed, by these Presents, to be free of The said Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, shall not before the going forth of the Fleet, appointed for this First Voyage, from the port of London, bring in and deliver to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed, or which, within the Space of Twenty Days next after the Date hereof, shall be appointed, by the said Governor and Company, or the more Part of them, to receive the Contributions and Adventures, set down by the several Adventurers, in this last and present Voyage, now in hand, to be set forth, such Sums of Money as have been, by any of the said Persons, by these presents, nominated to be of the said Company, expressed, set down and written in a Book for that Purpose, and left in the Hands of the said Thomas Smith, Governor of the said Company, or of the said Paul Banning, Alderman of London, and subscribed with the Names of the same Adventurers, under their Hands, and agreed

upon to be adventured in the said First Voyage, that then, It shall be lawful for The said Governor and Company, or the more Part of them, whereof the said Governor or his Deputy, to be one, at any their General Court, or General Assembly to remove disfranchise and displace him or them at their Wills and Pleasures And the said Governor and Company, of Merchants of London, Trading into the East Indies, for them and their Successors do by these Presents, covenant, promise and grant, to and with us, our Heirs and Successors, that they The said Governor and Company and their Successors, in all and every such Voyages, as they at any Time or Times hereafter during the said Term, shall make out of this Realm by Virtue of this our Grant and Letters Patents the First Voyage only excepted, shall and will upon every Return which shall be made back again into this Realm or any of our Dominions, or within Six Months next after every such Return, bring into this our Realm of England, from the said East Indies, or from some other Parts, beyond the Seas, out of our Dominions as great or greater Value in Bullion of Gold or Silver or other foreign Coin of Gold or Silver respectively for every Voyage the First Voyage only excepted as shall be by Force of these Presents transported and carried out of this Realm by them or any of them, in any Kind of Silver abovesaid whatsoever in any of the said Voyages and that all such Silver, as by Virtue of this our Grant and Letters Patents shall be shipped or laden by The said Governor and Company or their Successors, to be transported out of this Realm in any of the said Voyages shall from Time to Time at the setting forth of every such particular Voyage, be shipped and laden at the Ports or Havens of London Dartmouth or Plymouth or at some of the same Ports or Havens, and at no other Port or Haven whatsoever within this our Realm, or the Dominions thereof and that all and every such Silver as from Time to Time shall be shipped and laden in the said Ports of London, Dartmouth or Plymouth, or any of them to be

by Force of these Presents transported out of this Realm, as is aforesaid shall from Time to Time be duly entered by the Customer, Controller, Collector or other Officer to whom it shall appertain, of every such Port or Haven, where the same shall happen to be shipped or laden, in the Custom-Book belonging to the said Port or Haven, before such Time as the same shall be shipped or laden, to be transported as is aforesaid, without any Custom or Subsidy, to be paid for the same, and that in like Manner, all and all Manner of Gold and Silver whatsoever, which shall be brought into this Realm, or any of our Dominions, by The said Governor and Company, or any of them, according to the true Meaning of these Presents, shall likewise be, from Time to Time, duly entered by the Customer, Controller, or other Officer of every such Port, Creek or Place, where the same Gold or Silver shall happen to be unshipped, or brought to Land, before such Time as the same Gold or Silver or any Part thereof, shall be unshipped or brought to Land, as is aforesaid. Provided always, nevertheless, and our Will and Pleasure is, that these our Letters Patents, or any Thing therein contained, shall not in any Sort extend to give or grant any License, Power or Authority unto The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them to undertake or address any Trade unto any Country, Port, Island, Haven, City, Creek, Town or Place, being already in the lawful and actual Possession of any such Christian Prince or State, as at this present is, or at any Time hereafter shall be in League or Amity, with us, our Heirs or Successors, and which doth not, or will not accept of such Trade, but doth overtly declare and publish the same, to be utterly against his or their Good-Will and Liking, any Thing before in these presents contained, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. Provided also, that if it shall, hereafter appear to us, our Heirs or Successors, that this Grant or the Continuance thereof, in the Whole or in any Part thereof, shall not be profitable to us, our Heirs and Successors, or to this

our Realm, that then, and from thenceforth upon and after Two Years Warning, to be given to the said Company, by us our Heirs or Successors, under our or their Privy Seal, or Sign Manual this present Grant shall cease be void and determined, to all Intents Constructions and Purposes And further of our especial Grace certain Knowledge and mere Motion we have condescended and granted and by these Presents for us our Heirs and Successors do condescend and grant to The said Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies and their Successors that if at the End of the said Term of Fifteen Years it shall seem meet and Convenient unto The said Governor and Company or any the Parties aforesaid that this present Grant shall be continued and if that also it shall appear unto us, our Heirs and Successors that the Continuance thereof shall not be prejudicial or hurtful to this our Realm but that we shall find the further Continuance thereof profitable for us our Heirs and Successors and for our Realm with such Conditions as are herein mentioned or with some Alteration or Qualification thereof that then we our Heirs or Successors at the Instance and humble Petition of The said Governor and Company or any of them to be made unto us our Heirs and Successors will grant and make unto The said Governor and Company or any of them so suing for the same and such other Person and Persons our Subjects as they shall nominate and appoint or shall be by us our Heirs or Successors newly nominated not exceeding in Number Twenty Four new Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England in due Form of Law with the like Covenants Grants Clauses and Articles as in these Presents are contained or with Addition of other necessary Articles or changing of these into some other Parts for and during the full Term of Fifteen Years, then next following willing hereby and straitly charging and commanding all and singular our Admirals Vice Admirals Justices Mayors Sheriffs Escheators Constables Balliffs and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers Liege Men

and Subjects whatsoever, to be aiding, favouring helping and assisting unto The said Governor and Company, and to their Successors, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, Servants Assigns and Ministers and every of them, in executing and enjoying the Premises, as well on Land as on Sea, from Time to Time, when you or any of you shall thereunto be required, any Statue, Act, Ordinance, Proviso, Proclamation or Restraint, heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or provided, or any other Matter, Cause or Thing whatsoever, to the contrary in any way notwithstanding, although express Mention of the true yearly Value or Certainty of the Premises, or of any of them, or of any other Gifts or Grants, by us, or any of our Progenitors, to the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London, Trading into the East-Indies, or to any of them, before this Time made, in these Presents is not made, or any Statute, Act, Ordinance, Provision Proclamation or Restraint, to the contrary heretofore had made, ordained or provided, or any other Thing, Cause or Matter whatsoever, in any wise notwithstanding In Witness whereof, we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents Witness Ourself, at Westminster, the Thirty-first Day of December, in the Threë and Fortieth Year of our Reign

*Huberd*

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## II

### MALCOLM'S SUMMARY OF THE GROWTH OF THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE ENGLISH IN INDIA

By the engagements with the Nabob of Bengal (1757) the Company had the privilege given them of coining money in the name of the Emperor of Delhi

In the same year the lordship of twenty four districts adjacent to Calcutta, was granted to them in perpetuity, and their facilities of trade were greatly extended. In 1760 the rich provinces of Mldnapore Burdwan and Chittagong were made over to them by Cossim Ali for the payment of a specified subsidiary force (a)

In 1763 at the restoration of the Nawob Jaffier Khan the above provinces were ceded in perpetuity. In 1764, a grant from Shah Allum Emperor of Delhi, gave them the countries of Benares and Gazeepore and in the following year, 1765 the same authority made them nominal administrators but real rulers of the rich and fertile provinces of Bengal Behar and Orissa

Considerable cessions of territory were made to the Company at this period, on the coast of Coromandel in addition to some valuable lands made over in 1763 by the Nabob Mahomed Ali Khan. A jagheer, or estate was granted in 1765 which included some of the most fertile districts in the Carnatic. A grant of the northern Circars had been obtained from the Subah of the Deckan, by Bussy but when Massulepatam was taken and the French were expelled from this possession in 1759 by the English the circars were transferred to them and their right to this territory as well as to the lands ceded by the Nabob of the Carnatic, was confirmed in 1765 by a deed from the Emperor of Delhi

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(a) 500 European cavalry 2,000 Infantry and 8,000 Sepoys.

Bombay, the most ancient of the territorial possessions of the Company, was, in 1765, the most limited but it had importance from its fine harbour, and its numerous dependent factories, among which it numbered Surat This town and island, originally ceded by the Portuguese to King Charles II, as a part of the dower of his Queen, the Infanta Catherine, was made over by the King to the Company in 1668

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### III

#### BEFORE PLASSEY

The trade of this country was opened to the English by means of a surgeon named Boughton, who in 1636 was sent from Surat to Agra to attend a daughter of the Emperor Shaw Jehan, whom he cured and the emperor besides other favours, granted him a patent to trade free of customs throughout his dominions with which Boughton proceeded to Bengal, intending to purchase goods in this province, and to carry them by sea to Surat. His patent would probably have been little regarded if the Nabob of the province had not wanted his assistance to cure one of his favourite women whom he likewise recovered on which the Nabob prevailed on him to remain in his service giving him an ample stipend and confirming the privilege of trade which he had obtained at Agra, with a promise to extend it to all others of the English nation who should come to Bengal Boughton wrote an account of his influence to the English Governor at Surat

1640. by whose advice the Company in 1640 sent two ships from England to Bengal the agents of which being introduced to the Nabob by Boughton were received with courtesy and assisted in their mercantile transactions and the advantages gained by this trial gave encouragement to prosecute the trade

The profits accruing to Europeans by their trade to Indostan, arise much more from the commodities which they purchase in that country than from those which they send thither and the most valuable part of the cargoes returned to Europe consists of silk and cotton manufactures the weaver of which is an Indian living and working with his wife and several children in a hut which scarcely affords him shelter from the sun and rain his natural indolence however is satisfied in procuring by his daily labour his daily

bread, and the dread of extortion or violence from the officers of the district to which he belongs, makes it prudence in him to appear, and to be poor, so that the chapman who sets him work, finds him destitute of everything but his loom, and is therefore obliged to furnish him with money, generally half the value of the cloth he is to make, in order to purchase materials, and to subsist him until his work is finished; the merchant who employs a great number of weavers, is marked by the higher officers of the Government, as a man who can afford to forfeit a part of his wealth, and is therefore obliged to pay for protection, the cost of which, and more, he lays upon the manufactures he has to sell, of which by a combination with other merchants, he always regulates the price, according to the necessity of the purchaser to buy. Now the navigation to India is so very expensive, that nothing can be more detrimental to this trade than long protraction of the voyage, and loss, instead of profit, would ensue, if ships were sent on the expectation of buying cargoes on their arrival, for either they would not find these cargoes provided, and must wait for them at a great expense, or if ready, would be obliged to purchase them too dearly. Hence has arisen the necessity of establishing factories in the country, that the agents may have time and opportunity to provide, before the arrival of the ships, the cargoes intended to be returned in them.

The English Company, either in the first voyage or soon after, built a factory at Hughley, the principal port of the province, lying about one hundred miles from the sea on the river to which it gives its name, and which is the western arm of the Ganges, but the officers of the Government superintended the buildings, and objected to everything which resembled or might be converted into a station of defence, the Mogul empire, at that time, disdaining to allow in any part of its dominions, the appearance of any other sovereignty than its own. For whatsoever forts the Portuguese or other Europeans possessed on the sea coasts of Indostan, the territory on which they stood, and many of the forts

themselves were either wrested or purchased from princes at that time not conquered by the Mogul in whose territory no European power had hitherto been suffered to erect a single bastion

Not permitted to have fortifications the English were like  
 1640 wise prohibited from entertaining a military  
 to force sufficient to give umbrage to the Gov  
 1680. ernment but were allowed to maintain an  
 ensign and 30 men to do honour to the principal  
 agents who thus confined to commercial views applied  
 themselves with much industry to promote their own and the  
 company's interests in trade Englishmen were sent from  
 Hughley to those parts of the province in which the most  
 valuable commodities were produced but as the number of  
 factors employed by the company did not suffice to superin-  
 tend in different places the provision of such quantities of  
 goods as were annually demanded the greatest part of the  
 purchases was managed at Hughley where the principal  
 agents contracted with merchants of the country who on  
 receiving about one half of the value beforehand obliged  
 themselves under pecuniary penalties to deliver at fixed periods  
 the goods for which they had contracted. The company  
 being by these dispositions invested with a right in all the  
 goods for which they had contracted even before these  
 goods were manufactured gave the name of Investment to  
 all their purchases in India.

These were the only methods of carrying on the trade with  
 reasonable expectation of profit but they rendered the  
 English entirely dependant on the Government of Bengal  
 who either by seizing the goods which were provided or by  
 prohibiting them from being carried to the principal residence  
 from whence they were to be shipped might at any time subject  
 the company's estate to great detriment and loss and of these  
 risks the company were so apprehensive, that they kept  
 their factories in Bengal dependant on the Presidency of  
 Madras where they had a fort and garrison, to which, in

cases of sudden emergency, the agents in Bengal were to apply for advice and assistance

Their trade, however, was carried on for some time without interruption, and with much success, but in a few years, when they had erected costly buildings, had accumulated large quantities of English commodities, and had given large credits in the province, the Government deeming them as it were fettered to the shore changed its conduct towards them. The patents granted to Boughton, as well as the other stipulations which had induced them to settle in the province, were either disavowed, or construed in contradiction to their meaning; the same customs were levied from them, as from other merchants. the Nabob affected to arbitrate between the company and such of the natives, who in order to evade the payment of their debts, thought proper to purchase his protection, and even vagabond Englishmen offending against the Company's privileges, were encouraged to take refuge in his court, and to disavow the authority of their countrymen. In a word, every pretext which might bring the English affairs under his cognizance was practised in order to subject them to fines and exactions. If the settlements hesitated, or refused to comply with the Nabob's demands, their trade, throughout the province, was immediately stopped.

For these evils there were but two remedies, war or retreat both worse than the mischief, for although the Government annually repeated its exactions, the advantages of the Bengal trade, whilst new, were such as rendered it more prudent to acquiesce, than by defiance to risque the whole of the company's stock and concerns in the province, and for forty years the English attempted no military resistance.

At length, finding these impositions extravagantly increased, because they had only been opposed by embassies and petitions, and having the same causes of complaint against the Mogul's Government at Surat, the company in  
 1685 the year 1685, determined to try what condescensions the effect of arms might produce, and with the approbation

of King James the Second fitted out two fleets one of which was ordered to cruise at the bar of Surat on all vessels belonging to the Mogul's subjects the other was designed not only to commit hostilities by sea at the mouths of the Ganges but carried likewise 600 regular troops in order to attack the Nabob of Bengal by land The agents at Hughley received previous notice of these intentions and were instructed to call in all their factors and concerns that all the English subjects and property might be in readiness to repair on board the ships, as soon as they should arrive in the road of Ballasore from whence it was intended that they should proceed and surprise the city of Chittagong on the opposite shore where they were immediately to fortify themselves

The conduct of this war was entrusted to Job Chanock the company's principal agent at Hughley a man of courage without military experience but impatient to take revenge of a Government from which he had personally received the most ignominious treatment having not long before been imprisoned and scourged by the Nabob One vessel of the fleet was lost the largest ship with another were not able to make  
 1686 passage and the rest did not arrive before the month of October 1686 by which time a body of the Nabob's troops probably from some suspicions of the intended hostilities had surrounded the factory at Hughley Chanock therefore on the arrival of the ships ordered the troops about 460 men to come up the river to his assistance gave battle and drove the enemy out of the town A truce ensued during which all the company's effects were shipped by which time the governor of Hughley having received considerable reinforcements, both sides were equally willing and ready to renew hostilities The Moors were again discomfited but nevertheless prepared to blockade the factory again to avoid which Chanock on the 15th of December took the field and marching down the western bank of the river burned and destroyed all the magazines

of salt, and granaries of rice which he found in his way between Hughley and the island of Ingelee, which lies at the mouth of the river, near the western shore. On this spot, perhaps the most unhealthy in the province, he pitched his camp, in the month of April, whilst the ships anchored in the main stream. The Moors suffered them to remain here without molestation for three months during which sickness swept away 300 Europeans, which was two-thirds of the whole force.

In the meantime, the fleet sent to Surat had been much more successful, having taken from the Mogul subjects, cargoes, which were valued at a million of sterling money. These losses deterred the merchants at Surat from making preparation for future voyages, the manufacturers and mechanics left without employment, complained loudly of famine, and the emperor's revenues were considerably diminished, upon which Aurangzeb sent one of his officers from Delhi, with orders to hear the English complaints, and to mitigate the oppression they had suffered.

Orders of the same purport were likewise sent to the Nabob of Bengal, and arrived very fortunately for the English troops at Ingelee when reduced to only 100 men capable of bearing arms, they were surrounded by 10,000 foot, and 3000 horse. Hostilities ceased, and by a treaty signed  
 1687 the 16th of August, 1687, it was stipulated, that the English should not only be permitted to return to all their factories in the province, but might likewise erect docks and magazines at Ulabarea, a village situated on the western bank, about 50 miles from the mouth of the river.

However Chanock had not faith enough in the treaty to return to Hughley without the ships, and, the Moors distrusted the English too much to suffer them to appear there with an advantage. He therefore remained three months at Ulabarea, during which the place was found to be so improper for the purposes which had induced him to ask



it, that he desired and obtained leave to remove to Sootanatty, a town about 40 miles higher up and on the other side of the river, where the factors and soldiery lived in huts until they could provide proper habitations. Meanwhile the war at Surat broke out afresh, on hearing which the Nabob of Bengal paid no regard to the treaty made at Ingelee but gave up the English trade to the rapine of his officers, and at the same time demanded a very large sum as a recompense for the damage which his country had sustained by the late hostilities. Chanock being neither in a condition to oppose him by arms nor to appease him with money, sent two members of the council to Dacca to try if he might be softened by submissions. Soon after their departure the power of the settlement was translated from Mr Chanock to Heath a commander of one of the Company's ships a man of courage

but of a variable disposition not far removed from  
1688.

craziness who soon after his arrival at Sootanatty ordered all the English to repair on board the ships, and proceeded with them to the road of Ballasore where the governor of the town offered to treat with him in behalf of the Nabob and finding that this proposal was not received with cordiality detained two of the Company's agents residing in the factory of Ballasore as hostages against any violence notwithstanding which and that the two English deputies were still at Dacca as well as two other factors in other parts of the province Heath landed with a crew of sailors and attacked the town which had no defences. This outrage was committed on the very day that the governor received a copy of the treaty which the Nabob had made with the two deputies at Dacca by which it was stipulated that the English ships should attack the King of Arracan. Heath pretended to acquiesce to these terms hoping that his professions might facilitate his intentions of surprising Chittigan

where the fleet arrived on the 17th of January 1689  
1689 but finding the works as well as the garrison much stronger than he expected Heath as if he had come with no

other purpose offered, as he had promised, to join the Nabob against the King of Arracan, but soon after changing his mind again, he sailed to the river which leads to the capital of that country, where he proffered his service to the King against the Nabob, insisting, however, that their first attempt should be against Chittagan. But not being of a temper to bear the delays of an Indian administration, he as suddenly took disgust against this ally, and on the 13th of February, sailed away with the fleet and the company's agents across the Bay of Bengal to Madras, where they arrived on the 15th of March. Here he apologized for his conduct by saying, that nothing but lies had been told on all sides.

Nevertheless, the conduct, crazy and irregular as it was, produced better effects than could have been expected from measures dictated by the most prudent councils. For the Nabob imagined that the contempt and disrespect with which Heath had treated him, proceeded from a resolution which the English had taken, to abandon the trade of Bengal, and fearing to be called to a severe account by the Emperor Aurengzebe, for forcing them to quit the province he immediately sent letters to Madras requesting them to return, and promising all the immunities, the denial of which had been the cause of the late contentions. Such a condescension was thought a sufficient warrant of the sincerity of his intentions. Mr Chanock, therefore, with his factors and thirty soldiers, sailed from Madras, and arrived in the month of July at Soota-nutty, where, in consequence of the Nabob's orders, the Government of Hughley received them with civility.

The next year they received a phirmaund or patent from Aurengzebe, allowing them to trade free of customs, <sup>1690</sup> on condition of paying annually the sum of 3,000 rupees. The great advantages intended by this favour, depended however more on the temper of the Nabob, than on the will of the emperor, for the English had more than once before received such mandates, and found them of little

use and the remembrance of former evils continued to raise solicitude even when no immediate causes of apprehension subsisted

The right of jurisdiction over the Indian inhabitant, whom the residence and commerce of the English continually attracted to Soota nutty became every day more necessary to prevent perpetual litigations with those who although employed by the English might at any time defy them in the courts of Government in which the merchants of the settlement would be more cautious of seeking protection. If the company had power to stop their families and attach their effects but this right of jurisdiction could not be purchased even at Delhi without the consent of the Nabob. It was equally necessary that the company should have a fort to protect their valuable effects against sudden violence but even proffers of money repeated for five years successively could not prevail on the Nabob to allow these privileges and they were despaired of when some unexpected events enabled the company to obtain them. In 1696 the Rajahs on

1696 the western side of the river Hughley, took up arms they were headed by him of Burdawan whose territory extends along the western side of the river from Nuddeah to the island of Ingelee and who likewise possessed a considerable district on the other shore contiguous to Calcutta so that the English French and Dutch companies had each their principal settlement within his jurisdiction. The greatest part of the Nabob's army being near the Court at Dacca the rebels made great progress before a force sufficient to oppose them could assemble and in the meantime they took Hughley plundered Muxadavad in the island of Cossimbazar and from thence proceeded to Rajahmahal. On the breaking out of this war the three European settlements augmented their soldiery and declared for the Nabob of whom they at the same time requested permission to put their factories in a state of defence against an enemy whose resentment they must incur by their attachment to his government. The Nabob ordered them

in general terms to defend themselves, and they taking for granted, what was not positively forbidden, with great diligence raised walls with bastions round their factories the Dutch about a mile to the south of Hughley, the French two miles lower down the river, at Chandernagore, and the English at Calcutta, a small town contiguous to Soota-nutty, where they had built their principal magazines. Such was the origin of the three European forts in the province of Bengal, and they were the first which the Mogul government suffered foreigners to build in any part of the empire. An English sloop prevented the Rajah from taking the fort of Fannah, and the garrison of Calcutta, consisting of fifty men, beat a body of his troops within sight of the town. The Dutch assisted the Nabob's troops to retake Hughley. The French did little, but appeared in arms, and fortified themselves better than either of the other two.

The news of this rebellion alarmed Aurengzebe himself so much, that he sent one of his grandsons, Azim-al-Shan, with an army, to superintend the three governments of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This prince was son of Mahomed Mauzm, who reigned after his father Aurengzebe, with the title of Behader Shah, and Azim-al Shah himself seems likewise, even at this distant period, to have had an eye to the throne, for he came into Bengal with a resolution to amass money by every means. This avaricious disposition the English plied

with presents, which in 1698 obtained his permission to purchase from the Zemindar, or Indian proprietor, the towns of Soota-nutty, Calcutta, and Gobindpore, with their districts, extending about three miles along the eastern bank of the river Hughley, and about one mile inland. The prince, however, reserved the annual fine of 1195 rupees, which this ground used to pay to the Nabob of the Province. But at this time, when the English settlements seemed on the point of emerging from continued difficulties to a state of prosperity, the erection of a new East India Company, in opposition to the old renewed all the former evils. The new company established their factory at Hughly, and the competition

between the respective agents was carried on with the same animosity as exasperated their Principals in England, which exposed the concerns of both to the impositions of the Nabob and of the merchants of Bengal who took every advantage of this rivalry. However, the spirit of commerce, which knows no resentments that are prejudicial to its interest soon reconciled the contending parties of England, and produced a coalition of which the preliminaries were adjusted in 1698 but the final union did not take place till seven years after this time being necessary to blend the different concerns of both companies into one common stock.

In the meantime the settlement of Calcutta had attracted such a number of inhabitants as excited the jealousy of the governor of Hughly who pretending that he should be punished for suffering so many of the Mogul's subjects to withdraw themselves from his jurisdiction threatened to send a Cadi or Mahamedan judge and officers of the police to administer justice amongst the natives living under the English flag. The measure would have renewed the same inconveniences, which had forced the English to quit Hughly it was therefore counteracted by a bribe given to Azam-al-Shan who forbade the governor of Hughly from proceeding in his intentions. By this constant attention to money Azam al-Shan in three years amassed three millions of pounds sterling which he carried with him out of the province but he left behind him his son Furrukshur to get more who in 1713 gained the throne after his father had perished in disputing it with his brothers.

The union of the two companies, by augmenting the stock, increased the trade and enlarged the views of the direction. Who at the same time warned by the late examination of the company's affairs in Parliament exerted themselves with zeal and intelligence in order to confound the clamours of those who exclaimed against the institution of an East India Company as a monopoly detrimental to the mercantile interests of the nation. The Commerce of Bengal more

especially became the object of their attention the subordinate factories of Cossimbazar, Dacca, and Balasore, which had been abandoned, were now resettled the exports and imports were doubled in value and in quantity and the garrison of Calcutta, was augmented to 300 men all which the Government of Bengal contrary to its usual maxims, beheld without repugnance, and even without demanding money as the price of its forbearance and favour This was the longest term of repose from vexations, which the English had experienced since their first establishment in the province, and the increasing importance of the colony induced the company in 1707 to withdraw the settlements in it, from their former dependence on Madras, and to declare Calcutta a presidency accountable only to the direction in England

But the Nabab Jaffier Khan, who at this time was appointed to rule Bengal, did not suffer the English to remain any longer in this state of ease and independence and the respite which they had lately enjoyed served only to convince him, that as being better able, they ought the more readily to comply with his demands Having removed the Seat of Government from Dacca to Muxadabad, in the centre of the Province, he was better enabled to take cognizance of their affairs, and to discover pretexts and means of distressing them, without openly violating the privileges which they had obtained from Aurangzebe and Azimul Shan Every year of his administration was marked by extraordinary and increasing extortion, not only from the Europeans, but from all ranks of people in the province at the same time he was as much dreaded for his abilities as detested for his iniquities and the presidency of Calcutta, not seeing any

1713 better resource, proposed in the year 1713 to the company in England, that an embassy of complaint, supported by a valuable present, should be sent to the great Mogul at Delhi To this measure the company readily acquiesced, directing the presidencies of Bombay and Madras to join their grievances in the same

petition with those of Bengal The nomination of the ambassadors was left to Mr Hedges the Governor of Calcutta who chose John Surman and Edward Stephenson, two of the ablest factors of the Service there joining to them an Armenian named Serhaud, who had for many years been the principal merchant in the settlement.

It does not appear that the presidency had any other lights to direct their proceedings and expectations at Dehli, excepting such as they received from this Armenian who had never been there but who was very solicitous to be admitted into this honourable commission in hopes of getting a great deal of money by the goods he should carry free of charges in the train of embassy The presents designed for the Mogul and his officers consisted of curious glass ware, clock work toys, hrocades and the finest manufactures of woollen cloths and silks valued altogether at 30 000 pounds which Serhand, in his letters to Delhi magnified to 100 000 and gave such a description of the rarities which were coming that the Mogul Furrukshir ordered the embassy to be escorted by the governors of the provinces through whose territories it might pass The train proceeded on the Ganges from Calcutta to Patna the capital of Behar and from hence by land to Delhi where they arrived on the 8th of

July 1715 after a march of three months The famous Hossanally who afterwards deposed 1715 four and created five emperors of Indostan was at this time Vizir dreaded by his sovereign and mortally hated by Cawndorah who was in full possession of the emperor's favour The English by their previous correspondence to Delhi had chosen Cawndorah for the patron of their petitions to which the rivalry between these lords was likely to prove no little detriment for the one only could persuade the emperor to grant, what the other alone had the power of carrying into execution Jaffir the Nabob of Bengal, had from the beginning regarded the embassy with detestation as the strongest imputation against the integrity of his own

conduct, and would probably have counteracted it, both by representations and money, if he had not wanted all his influence at Delhi to promote the success of greater views, for he had for some years been soliciting the annexion of the provinces of Debar and Orissa to the Government of Bengal, and the succession to this vast vicereignty, in his family. Nevertheless his emissaries privately spread their specious objections amongst his friends which, with the desire of Hossain Ali to thwart Clarendon would probably have soon produced the dismissal of the ambassadors with civil and insignificant answers, an accident which on a less important occasion would have been too mean to merit historical notice, had not placed them at once in a high degree of favour with the emperor himself whom not all the vigilance of a Mogul's seraglio had been able to preserve from the contagion of a distemper, which its institutions seem so well calculated to prevent.

The Mogul despairing of the skill of his own empiricks, was advised by Clarendon to employ the Surgeon of the English embassy named Hamilton, by whom he was in a few weeks perfectly cured and, in gratitude for this service, promised to grant the ambassadors any indulgences, which might be consistent with the dignity of his Government. Soon after his recovery succeeded the festival of his marriage with the daughter of Jasseing, the principal Rajah of the Rajpoot nation which interrupted all other business, and obliged the ambassadors to wait six months before they could gain permission to present their petition.

It was delivered in the month of January of the next year  
 1716, and contained a variety of requests "That  
 1716 the cargoes of English ships which might be wrecked on the Mogul's coast should not in future be plundered that a stipulated sum paid annually to the Government of Surat, should exempt the English trade at that port from the Mogul's duties, and from the visitation of his officers, who had continually



extorted more than they were authorized to demand that the rupees coined in the mints of Bombay and Madras should pass in the receipt of the Moguls revenue that three villages, contiguous to Madras which had formerly been granted and were afterwards taken back by the government of Arcot, might be restored to the company in perpetuity subject to the payment of the former fine, that the island of Diu near the port of Masulipatam might be given to the company paying for it an annual rent of 7000 pagodas In behalf of the presidency of Calcutta the petition represented all the impositions of the Nabob of Bengal and proposed ' that they should be obliterated by positive orders that all persons whether Europeans or natives, who might be indebted or accountable to the Company should be delivered up to the presidency at Calcutta on the first demand that the officers of the mint at Muxadabad should at all times when required allow three days in the week for the coinage of the Company's money and that a passport, or dustuck signed by the president of Calcutta should exempt the goods it specified from being visited or stopped by the officers of the Bengal Government on any pretence whatsoever and in order to maintain these excellent privileges if granted even in defiance of the Nabab himself it was requested that the English might purchase the lordship of thirty seven towns with the same immunities as Azim-al-Shan had permitted them to buy Calcutta, Soota nutty and Govindpore

Cawndorab although he meant the embassy well advised them to act as if they had no other reliance than on the Vizir and the Emperor with the same caution professed indeed a general approbation of the petition but directed the several articles to be discussed by the different officers of the state to the cognizance of which they were deemed to belong This subjected the whole petition to the judgment of the vizir who not without candour dispnted all the material articles, and readily allowed those of less consequence a second petition was therefore presented to the emperor in consequence of

which some more points were given up by the vizir, and then a third, which, being received with the same favour as the other two, induced him to give up the rest of his objections. But, to the great disappointment of the ambassadors, the mandates were issued, not under the Mogul's, but under the seal of the vizir, which, although carrying great authority in the provinces near the capital, was likely to be little respected by the distant viceroys, to whom these mandates were addressed. To increase their difficulties, the Armenian Serhaud, having been checked by his colleagues in some irregular proceedings, perplexed all their operations, and, as they thought, betrayed their councils. Nevertheless Messrs Stephenson and Surman with great steadiness and spirit returned the mandates, and determined to wait until they should obtain patents under the seal of the Mogul.

These procrastinations had already led the embassy to the month of April of 1716, when the emperor took the field, and marched towards Lahore against the Sykes, a nation of Indians lately reared to power, and bearing mortal enmity to the Mahomadans. The ambassadors followed the camp. The campaign was tedious, though successful, and amongst other events, produced a quarrel between the troops of the vizir and Candorah, which rendered their dissension utterly irreconcilable. Their jealousies, after the return of the army to Delhi, continued to protract the admission of the claim made by the ambassadors, who having wasted fourteen months without the least progress, began to despair of success, when they were advised to bribe a favourite eunuch in the seraglio, who promised on this condition to procure the patents in the form they desired, and without delay.

So much money had already been spent, that the ambassadors thought it would be trivial not to risk this sum as the last experiment, although they much doubted the effect. But to their surprize, as soon as the money was paid, the vizir and all his dependents appeared as much inclined, as they had hitherto been averse, to promote their

requests and soon after thirty four patents incinding the different subjects of the petition were issued in the Mogul's name, and signed with his seal. They were delivered to the ambassadors before they had discovered the real cause of their unexpected success which however was explained to them before they left Delhi by one of Cawndorah's officers. In the year 1686 a little while before the fleet sent from England began to take the ships belonging to the Moors the English agents at Surat retired to Bombay. They returned after the peace but a little before the present patents were issued the presidency of Bombay had again withdrawn the factory of Surat as a residence not worth maintaining unless the trade could be freed from the impositions to which it had of late years been subject. The government of Surat, reasoning from former experience took the alarm and firmly believed that a fleet was on its way from England to commit hostilities as in the year 1687 which would have been attended with the same success; for many ships of value belonging to the Mogul's subjects were at sea. The eunuch to whom the ambassadors had given the bribe was the intimate correspondent and friend of the Nobab of Gururat who had desired him to represent to the Vizir that it was better to satisfy the English by granting their petitions than by a refusal to expose the trade of Surat to their reprisals. To this advice the Vizir immediately acquiesced and from that hour changed his conduct towards the ambassadors the eunuch being early in the secret and foreseeing the change that would shortly ensue determined to reap some advantage from his intelligence and imposed himself on the ambassadors as author of the benefits which it was not in his power to prevent. The ambassadors having thus accomplished their commission took leave of the Emperor in the month of July 1717 two years after their arrival at Delhi. The patents addressed to the Sonbah of the Deccan and the Nabab of Gururat took effect as soon as they were published, because they afforded no political

pretext of opposition, as adding nothing to the military strength of the company's settlements in either of these subahships, although to their commercial advantages. But the thirty-seven towns which they were permitted to purchase in Bengal would give them a district extending ten miles south of Calcutta along the banks on each side the river Hughley, of which the passage in this extent might be easily commanded by the erection of batteries or redoubts, at the same time that the revenue of the tract would defray the expence and it was supposed that a great number of weavers might be established in it, who would be immediately subject to the company's jurisdiction. The shrewdness of the Nabob Jaffier, exasperated by his grudge to the embassy in general, saw the consequences of this grant with indignation, but, not daring openly to dispute the Mogul's order, he deterred the holders of the land with secret threats of vengeance from parting with their ground on any terms of compensation which might be proffered to them and the English Government confiding too much in the sanction of the Mogul's authority, neglected the more efficacious means of bribing the Nabob to their own views, and thus the most important concession which had been obtained by the embassy, was entirely frustrated. However, Jaffier admitted the privilege of the dustucks, which, being recognized throughout the province, greatly facilitated the circulation of the company's trade, which now no longer paid customs, nor was liable to be stopped by the officers of the government and this immunity was still more beneficial, because the other European colonies were not entitled to it nor indeed, any of the natives excepting two or three principal merchants, who purchased it at a high rate of the Nabob.

The company, confining themselves entirely to the trade between India and Europe, had, not unwisely, relinquished to their agents that which is carried on from one part of India to another but the impositions of the Government had hitherto prevented their agents from reaping any

considerable advantages from this indulgence and to promote their profits the company, soon after the embassy allowed all those who served them under covenants to make use of their dustucks for such commodities as belonged to themselves but forbld under severe penalties, the prosltu-  
tion or extension of this privilege to any others. A question now arose whether the company's agents were entitled to trade from one part of the province to another in such commodities as were the produce of Bengal. The Mogul's patent implied no restrictions. But they could not be ignorant of the intentions of Delhi concerning this privilege for when the ambassadors proposed to Cawndorah that it should extend to all kinds of commodities he replied with emotion 'The Seal. And the Nabob Jaffier openly treated the pretension with the same indignation as he had secretly felt against the ceded lands declaring that he would not suffer the dustucks to protect any goods excepting such as were imported or were purchased to be exported by sea alleging that as the salt beetle nut and tobacco, together with some other articles of general consumption were either farmed out in monopolies or taxed at excessive rates, the detriment to the revenues would be as great as the advantages to the company's agents if they were permitted to trade in these articles free of the customs and rents which were paid by the natives who dealt in them.

Convinced as much by the reasoning as deterred by the power of the Nabob the agents receded from their pretension and applied themselves to make the most advantage of those privileges which were not contested. Success produced new adventures and the superior skill of our countrymen in navigation induced the merchants of the province Moors Armenians and Indians to freight most of the goods which they exported to foreign markets, on the shipping belonging to the colony which in ten years after the embassy amounted to 10 000 tons and many private fortunes were acquired without injuring the com-

pany's trade, or subjecting their estate to disputes with the Government. The presidency nevertheless, found it their interest from time to time to soothe the Nabob with presents, in order to promote the increase of the company's investment, and to facilitate the course of their business at the subordinate factories. but the people of all denominations residing in Calcutta, enjoyed after the return of the embassy, a degree of independence and freedom unknown to all the other inhabitants of Bengal who, on the contrary, were oppressed every year with increasing vexations by the rapacity of the Nabob

In 1718, the year after the embassy, Jaffier received from  
 1718 Delhi the patents he had long solicited, annexing the provinces of Behar and Orissa to his Government of Bengal, and the reversion of the whole to his heir

The Ganges, in a course which tends with little deviation from the west to the east point of the compass, flows through the whole province of Behar, and divides it into two regions. The southern extends about 220 miles from the river Caramassa to Tacriagully, and is skirted to the South by the chain of mountains which on this side accompanies the course of the Ganges and several districts belonging to the province are included within the mountains themselves, but none recede more than 60 miles from the river. The river Dewah, which is likewise called the Gogra, joins the Ganges on its northern shore 180 miles to the west of Tacriagully. That river for a long way before the junction tends from the W N W and 40 miles of the lower part of its channel forms part of the western boundary of the northern division of Behar, which extends to the east 180 miles, to the line we have noted as the limit of Purniah, and recedes from the Ganges and Dewah 90 miles to the north, where forests at the foot of the range of mountains, which bound the country of Nepal, continue with the mountains to the

eastward far beyond Rangamati, and form the northern boundaries of Behar Bengal and Assam. The area of Behar comprizeth 9 square degrees. The capital Patna stands on the southern bank of the Ganges 130 miles to the west of Tacriagully. There are many manufactures in this province although nothing near so many as in Bengal to which it is likewise much inferior in fertility but it produces a great quantity of saltpetre and of the best opium in India.

Orissa is the most northern country on the east side of the promontory of Indostan. The river Piple coming from the N W disembogues as we have said in the latitude of 22 25 opposite to the island of Sagore. The channel of this river for 40 miles from its mouth and an imaginary line 20 miles farther to the west to the foot of the Nelighreen hills before they curve to the east behind Balasore divide Orissa from Bengal. Southward it extends along the sea coast to the latitude of 20 10 within 6 miles of Gangam which terminates the province of Chicacole in the Decan. To the westward Orissa is separated from the province of Behar by a vast tract of mountains hitherto unexplored. The interior of the province is the strongest and best soil in the empire but from the want of good sea ports there are few manufactures and very little circulation of gold and silver in the country. Cutteck the capital is situated in the latitude of 21 23 and 50 miles from the sea.

Jaffir had no sons but before his arrival in Bengal had given his only daughter in marriage to Sujah Khan a lord of distinction who accompanied him into the province. Of this marriage were born two sons both of whom were arrived at man's estate when the commission appointing their father Sujah to succeed Jaffier was sent from Delhi. Sujah although humane was indolent and voluptuous and his father in law being desirous to break him to business sent him soon after the patents were received to govern the province of Orissa.

A few months after his arrival at Catteck, two brothers, natives of Tartary, came to his court with strong recommendations from Delhi, in compliance with which Sujah received them into his service appointing the elder, Hodgee Hamed, to attend his person as a domestic, and the other, Allaverdy, to command a troop of horse. They were both employed according to their talents. For the elder was calm, supple, wily, provident, but void of natural courage; the younger, stern, active, intrepid, sagacious, but too high-minded to submit to the compliances necessary in an Asiatic Court. Conviction of the assistance which each might derive from the qualities of the other cemented them, as much as the relation of blood, in the most inviolable friendship. This powerful and uncommon union seemed to command fortune, for in a few years they raised themselves to the highest offices in Sujah's court and army, Hodgee Hamed becoming his prime minister, and Allaverdy the general of his troops. The Nabob Jaffier fore-saw and dreaded the consequences of their influence but the infirmities of old age had rendered him incapable of taking the vigorous resolutions necessary to extricate his successor from

the toils into which he had been led, and in 1725 Jaffier died, to the great joy of the province, but of none more than the two brothers, to whose ambition his death opened more extensive prospects. They accompanied Sujah to Muxadavad, and partook of the increase of his power, administering the same employments in the general Government of the Subahship, as they had held in the province of Orissa.

In 1729 Sujah appointed Allaverdy to govern Behar, in which station he had frequent opportunities of exerting his military talents, as well as his political abilities, being constantly in arms against the Indian Chiefs on both sides the Ganges, who had never been reduced to a settled dependance on the Moorish Government. However, after many fights, intrigues, and assassinations, all submitted, and afterwards continued in obedience to Allaverdy, who now



feeling his strength, gave scope to his ambition, which as usual, obliterated every sentiment of gratitude to the creator of his fortunes

In the meantime Hodjee maintained his influence over the Nabob by an obsequiousness which prevented all suspicions and remitted large sums to his brother which were sent to

1736. Delhi and in 1736 procured a commission from thence appointing Allaverdy, Nabob of Behar free from any dependance on the Government of Bengal but as there was no immediate occasion to proclaim this title of which he already enjoyed most of the advantages the brothers agreed that it should be kept secret until there should be a necessity of asserting it publicly However such a transaction could not be entirely concealed and the first informations leading to farther investigations, Sujah although unwillingly was at last convinced of the treacherous ingratitude of his favourites

He was meditating revenge when the approach of Nadir Shah struck all the provinces of the empire with consternation and kept all their rulers in suspense how far the storm would reach and in 1739 before the Persians left Delhi

1739. Sujah died

The succession devolved to his only surviving son Suffraze Khan a man of mean abilities and governed only by his vices He however bore the strongest resentment against the two brothers but the fear of Allaverdy restrained him from taking away the life of Hodjee who was in his power and Allaverdy trembling for the safety of his brother refrained from committing any hostilities but improved his army

1740 The profligacy of Suffraze Khan increased with the means of indulgence and his debaucheries went to an excess that disordered his understanding There was amongst the officers of the court, an old Gentoo of distinction named Alimchund whom the late Nabob used to consult with confidence relying on which Alimchund ventured in a private conference to warn Suffraze Khan of the

dangerous consequences of his intemperance, but Suffraze Khan answered him with ignominious abuse and invectives. No one after this ventured to shew any disapprobation of his inclinations and, left to himself, he soon after committed a more extravagant outrage.

There was a family of Gentoo merchants at Muxadavad, whose head, Juggutseat, had raised himself from no considerable origin to be the wealthiest banker in the empire, in most parts of which he had agents supplied with money for remittances, from whom he constantly received good intelligence of what was transacting in the governments in which they were settled and in Bengal his influence was equal to that of any officer in the administration for by answering to the treasury, as security for most of the renters farming the lands of the province, he knew better than any one all the details of the revenues, and the great circulation of wealth, which he commanded, rendered his assistance necessary in every emergency of expence. His eldest son, soon after the disgrace of Allumchund, married a woman of exquisite beauty, the report of which alone inflamed the curiosity of the Nabob so much, that he insisted on seeing her, although he knew the disgrace which would be fixed on the family, by shewing a wife, unveiled, to a stranger. Neither the remonstrances of the father, nor his power to revenge the indignity, availed to divert the Nabob from this insolent and futile resolution. The young woman was sent to the palace in the evening, and after staying there a short space, returned, unviolated indeed, but dishonoured, to her husband Hodgee, who had been lurking for some such occasions of conspiracy, now began to move, and made overtures to Jaggutseat and Allumchund, who received them with eagerness. Secret meetings were concerted, in which it was agreed, that as soon as Hodgee could be placed out of the reach of danger, Allaverdy should invade Bengal, and, if successful, take the Nabobship. But the first difficulty seemed insurmountable, as nothing could be more contrary to the

security of the Nabob than the release of such a pledge as Hodgee and it was impossible that he could be removed out of the province without the Nabob's consent which nevertheless was at length obtained by the intercession it is said of some of the principal officers of the Durbar whom Hodgee had gained over and admitted into the secret of his conspiracy. The Nabob at the audience of taking leave treated Hodgee with scoff and mockery. The conveyances for his departure having for some time been held in readiness he proceeded immediately on his journey to Patna and as soon as he arrived there, Allaverdy giving out that he was dishonoured by the ignominious manner in which his brother had been turned out of the province began his march towards Bengal.

His approach was so sudden that he gained the pass of Tacriagully before Suffraze Khan had time to secure it by a proper reinforcement. On hearing which the Nabob accused Juggutseat of treachery who defended himself by producing letters from Allaverdy prepared for the purpose in which he was upbraided for not having used his influence to prevent the banishment of Hodgee.

Suffraze Khan now assembled his troops and ordered them to rendezvous on the plain of Gheria which lies on the west side of the river of Cossimbazar about five miles to the north of Muxadavad. Here he had scarcely formed his encampment, which consisted of 30 000 men horse and foot when Allaverdy appeared in sight with an equal number but of better troops for amongst his cavalry were 3 000 Pitans, the bravest of the Mahomedans in Indostan and his infantry levied in Behar were much stouter than those in the army of Suffraze Khan who were mostly natives of Bengal.

However the unexpected firmness of the Nabob inspired some of his officers with courage but more were either disaffected or wavering and all belonging to the artillery had been engaged by Allumchund to discharge the cannon without ball and to desert it soon after the onset. Troops after troops quitted the field as soon as they saw the artillery

abandoned Nevertheless Suffraze Khan continued the fight until he was left with only a few squadrons of horse, whom the enemy were moving to surround, when the driver of his elephant, warning him of the danger, offered, at the forfeit of his head, to convey him back safely to the capital, to which proposal the Nabob, with a resolution worthy of a better life and of a better fate, replied, that he scorned to retreat before rebels and traitors, and ordered the driver to push into the thickest of the enemy's troops, toward the standard of Allaverdy, where, supported by the remains of his cavalry, he renewed the fight more desperately than ever, until he fell, shot through the heart by a musket ball

Allaverdy, without meeting any further opposition, marched to Muxadavad where he was immediately proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and used his victory with more lenity and moderation than is usually practised by eastern conquerors, and even spared the two sons of Suffraze Khan, whom, with their mother and other relations, he sent to take up their residence at Dacca, at the extremity of the province, where his officers were instructed to treat them with respect, whilst their conduct should give no umbrage The whole province submitted as peaceably to his Government as if no revolution had happened but Mussut Kouli who governed Orissa under Suffraze Khan, flying from the battle of Gheria, retreated to Catteck, and when summoned by Allaverdy, refused to acknowledge his sovereignty He therefore called his brother Hodgee from Patna to administer the Government of Bengal during his absence, and then marched into Orissa, and in less than a month expelled Mussut Kouli and reduced the province

*Orme's Military Transactions*

# IV

## PLASSEY AND AFTER.

### A

ROBERT CLIVE, *Letter to the Directors of the East India Company*

1757

I gave you an account of the taking of Chandernagore the subject of this address is an event of much higher importance, no less than the entire overthrow of Nabob Suraj u Dowlah and the placing of Meer Jaffier on the throne. I intimated in my last how dilatory Suraj u Dowlah appeared in fulfilling the articles of the treaty This disposition not only continued but increased and we discovered that he was designing our ruin by a conjunction with the French. To this end Monsieur Bussy was pressingly invited to come into this province and Monsieur Law of Cossimbazar (who before had been privately entertained in his service) was ordered to return from Patna

About this time some of his principal officers made overtures to us for dethroning him. At the head of these was Meer Jaffier then Bukhshee to the army a man as generally esteemed as the other was detested As we had reason to believe this disaffection pretty general we soon entered into engagements with Meer Jaffier to put the crown on his head All necessary preparations being completed with the utmost secrecy the army consisting of about one thousand Europeans and two thousand sepoys with eight pieces of cannon marched from Chandernagore on the 13th and arrived on the 18th at Cutwa Fort, which was taken without opposition The 22nd, in the evening we crossed the river, and landing on the island, marched straight for Plassey Grove where we arrived by one in the morning At day break we discovered the Nabob's army moving towards us,

consisting as we since found, of about fifteen thousand horse, and thirty-five thousand foot, with upwards of forty pieces of cannon. They approached apace, and by six began to attack with a number of heavy cannon, supported by the whole army, and continued to play on us very briskly for several hours, during which our situation was of the utmost service to us, being lodged in a large grove, with good mud banks. To succeed in an attempt on their cannon was next to impossible, as they were planted in a manner round us, and at considerable distances from each other. We therefore remained quiet in our post, in expectation of a successful attack upon their camp at night. About noon the enemy drew off their artillery, and retired to their camp, being the same which Roy Dullub had left but a few days before, and which he had fortified with a good ditch and breastwork. We immediately sent a detachment, accompanied with two field-pieces, to take possession of a tank with high banks, which was advanced about three hundred yards above our grove, and from whence the enemy had considerably annoyed us with some cannon managed by Frenchmen. This motion brought them out a second time, but on finding them make no great effort to dislodge us, we proceeded to take possession of one or two more eminences lying very near an angle of their camp, from whence and an adjacent eminence in their possession, they kept a smart fire of musketry upon us. They made several attempts to bring out their cannon, but our advanced field-pieces played so warmly and so well upon them, that they were always drove back. Their horse exposing themselves a good deal on this occasion, many of them were killed, and among the rest four or five officers of the first distinction, by which the whole army being visibly dispirited and thrown into some confusion, we were encouraged to storm both the eminence and the angle of their camp, which were carried at the same instant, with little or no loss, though the latter was defended (exclusively of blacks) by forty French and two pieces of cannon, and the former by a large body of blacks both foot and horse. On this, a general rout

ensued, and we pursued the enemy six miles, passing upwards of forty pieces of cannon they had abandoned, with an infinite number of hackaries, and carriages filled with baggage of all kinds. Suraj u Dowlah escaped on a camel and reaching Moorshedabad early next morning despatched away what jewels and treasure he conveniently could and he himself followed at midnight with only two or three attendants.

It is computed there are killed of the enemy about five hundred. Our loss amounted to only twenty-two killed and fifty wounded and those chiefly blacks. During the warmest part of the action we observed a large body of troops hovering on our right, which proved to be our friends but as they never discovered themselves by any signal whatsoever, we frequently fired on them to make them keep their distance. When the battle was over, they sent a congratulatory message, and encamped in our neighbourhood that night. The next morning Meer Jaffier paid me a visit, and expressed much gratitude at the service done him assuring me, in the most solemn manner that he would faithfully perform his engagement to the English. He then proceeded to the city which he reached some hours before Suraj u Dowlah left it.

B.

*Clive upon British Policy in India*

CALCUTTA, 7TH JAN 1759

*To the Rt Hon William Pitt, one of His Majesty's  
Principal Secretaries of State*

SIR

The close attention you bestow on the affairs of the British nation in general has induced me to trouble you with a few particulars relative to India and to lay before you an exact account of the revenues of this country the genuineness whereof you may depend on as it has been faithfully extracted from the minister's books.

The great revolution that has been effected here by the success of the English arms, and the vast advantages gained

to the Company by a treaty concluded in consequence thereof has, I observe, in some measure, attracted the public attention but much more may yet in time be done if the Company will exert themselves in the manner the importance of their present possessions and future prospect deserves. I have represented to them in the strongest terms the expediency of sending out and keeping up constantly such a force as will enable them to embrace the first opportunity of further aggrandising themselves, and I dare pronounce from a thorough knowledge of this country government and of the genius of the people acquired by two years' application and experience that such an opportunity will soon offer. The reigning Subah, whom the victory at Plassey invested with the sovereignty of these provinces, still retains his attachment to us. But he is advanced in years, and his son is so cruel, worthless a young fellow, that it

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will be almost unsafe trusting him with the succession. So small a body as two thousand Europeans will secure us against any apprehensions from either the one or the other, and in case of their daring to be troublesome, enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves.

There will be the less difficulty in bringing about such an event, as the natives themselves have no attachment whatever to particular princes, and as under the present government, they have no security for their lives and properties, they would rejoice in so happy an exchange as that of a mild for a despotic government, and there is little room to doubt our obtaining the Moghul's sunnud (or grant) in confirmation thereof, provided we agreed to pay him the stipulated allotment out of the revenues, viz, fifty lacs annually. This has of late years been very ill paid, owing to the distractions in the heart of the Moghul Empire, which have disabled that Court from attending to their concerns in the distant provinces, and the Vizier has actually wrote to me desiring I would engage the Nabob to make the payments agreeable to the former usage, nay, further, application has been made to me from



the Court of Delhi to take charge of collecting this payment the person entrusted with which is the next person both in dignity and power to the Subah. But this high office I have been compelled to decline for the present as I am unwilling to occasion any jealousy on the part of the Subah especially as I see no likelihood of the Company's providing me with a sufficient force to support properly so considerable an employ and which would open a way for securing the Sahabship to ourselves. That this would be agreeable to the Moghul can scarcely be questioned and it would be so much to his interest to have these countries under the dominion of a nation famed for their good faith rather than in the hands of people who a long experience has shown him never will pay him his proportion of the revenues unless awed into it by the fear of the Imperial army marching to force them thereto.

But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company and it is to be feared they are not of themselves able without the nation's assistance to obtain so wide a dominion. I have therefore, presumed Sir to represent this matter to you and submit it to your consideration whether the execution of a design that may hereafter be still carried to greater length be worthy of the government taking it into hand. I flatter myself I have made it pretty clear to you that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms and that with the Moghul's own consent on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof. Now I leave you to judge whether income yearly of upwards of two millions sterling with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable production of nature and of art be an object deserving the nation's attention and whether it be worth the nation's while to take the proper measures to secure such an acquisition—an acquisition which under the management of so able and disinterested a minister would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund toward diminishing

the heavy load of debt under which we at present labour. Add to these advantages the influence we shall thereby acquire over the several European nations engaged in the commerce here, which these could no longer carry on but through our indulgence, and under such limitations as we should think fit to prescribe. It is well worthy consideration, that this project may be brought about without draining the mother country as has been too much the case with our possessions in America. A small force from home will be sufficient, as we always make sure of any number we please of black troops, who being both much better paid and treated than by the country powers, will very readily enter into our service.

The greatest part of the troops belonging to this establishment are now employed in an expedition against the French in the Deccan, and by accounts lately received from thence, I have great hopes we shall succeed in extirpating them from the province of Golconda, where they have reigned lords paramount so long, and from whence they have drawn their principal resources during the troubles upon the coast.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary effort made by the French in sending out M. Lally with a considerable force the last year, I am confident, before the end of this, they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen event interpose in their favour. The superiority of our squadron, and the plenty of money and supplies of all kinds which our friends on the coast will be furnished with from this province, while the enemy are in total want of everything without any visible means of redress, are such advantages as if properly attended to cannot fail of wholly effecting their ruin in that as well as in every part of India.

Your most devoted humble servant,

ROBT CLIVE

C

*A Criticism of the English policy in India Joseph Price,*  
1783

The first taste of fame and conquest, which the English

officers enjoyed in India happened on the coast of Coromandel, where the great Clive, and his able master in the art of war, Major General Lawrence made the English name terrible. This was soon after followed by the conquest of all the forts and harbours of the pirate Angria, on the Malabar coast. Yet we made conquests rather as auxiliaries, than as principals in the wars for the Nabobs of Arcot enjoyed the advantages of the first and the Poonah Mahrattas of the last. Some prize money was made but no territory held, which produced anything further than some advantages in trade and a few districts pawned or pledged to us for certain sums advanced the revenue of which was to reimburse the Company for the expenses of the war.

There has been something extremely singular in the whole conduct of the English government with respect to Bengal. If ever the national banner was displayed in a just and honourable war that with Surajah ul Dowlah was such and by the law of nations, to retain conquests acquired in such a war has hitherto been deemed lawful and right. But the English seem to have been terrified at the idea of their own success. They conquer a country in self defence which they hesitate to keep and want resolution to give up. Create a Nabob to whom they give a kingdom and become themselves his pensioners but finding their Nabob [unsatisfactory] they make him a pensioner in his turn to his son in law Cossim Ally Cawn but soon after finding Cossim to be [equally unsatisfactory] they wish his removal. Embarrassed by their own policy they saw no remedy but again to accept the old Nabob whom they had a second time set up. Meer Jaffier died and they recognised their sovereign in his second son and things were running on in the old absurd channel of a double government, when Lord Clive arrived who reversed the system instead of continuing the Company pensioners to the Nabob he made the Nabob a pensioner to the Company. The power now was all their own but they wanted to hide it from the world.

This policy, I have heard, was dictated to Lord Clive by the *Ministry*, to avoid involving the nation in disputes with the other European powers whose subjects were settled in Bengal

## D

Mr Hastings in the *Memoir* which he published after his return to England, has given us a forcible and vivid description of the origin and growth of our power in India. He says, "the seed of this wonderful production, was sown by the hand of calamity. It was nourished by fortune, and cultivated and shaped by necessity. Its first existence was commercial, it obtained in its growth the sudden accession of military strength and territorial dominion to which its political adjunct was inevitable. It is useless to enquire whether the company or the nation has derived any substantial benefit from the change, since it is impossible to retrace the perilous and wonderful paths by which they have attained their present elevation, and to redescend to the humble and undreaded character of trading adventurers."

No one will doubt the truth of this description of the rise and actual condition of our Indian empire

*Malcolm*

## E

It is a remark too trite almost for repetition that the British Empire in India is the creation of circumstances, but like many similar remarks, it has become trite because incontrovertibly true. That empire owes its extent and grandeur to the ambition, not of those by whom it has been reared, but of their enemies. The main causes which had contributed to its growth up to the time of Clive, were the hostility of the French, the action of Shirajud-Dowlah, and the ambition of the Vizier. These had changed entirely the position and character of the Company's Government. Notwithstanding the instructions from home, which were invariably pacific, it had been found impossible to avoid war. the

results placed at the feet of English merchants power and dominion which they never sought but which they could not decline without sinking into abject weakness and contempt, and what would have been worse, without affording opportunity to European rivals to profit by their unreasonable and suicidal abandonment. In the language of Clive—to retract was impossible

*Thornton*

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## V.

### THE DEWANNY

The Dewanny authority over the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was conferred in perpetuity on the East India Company, by a firman or royal grant in August 1766. The Nawab of Bengal, Nujum-ool-Dowlah, had already, as the condition of his succeeding to the musnud, on the decease of his father Jaffier Khan, agreed to entrust the administration of the subahdarry to the management of a naib or deputy appointed by the advice of the Governor in Council. By a further agreement, dated 30th September 1765, the Nawab recognized the grant of the Dewanny to the company, and consented to accept a fixed stipend for the maintenance of himself and his household. Whatever further expense, within certain limits, might be found necessary for the support of the dignity of the Nizamut, was to be disbursed through the Deputy chosen by the English Government.

#### *Fifth Report*

The way to render the gift of the Dewanny available had been previously prepared. Clive by representing to the Nabob the financial difficulties by which he was surrounded, had prevailed upon him to accept of an annual allowance of Fifty three lacs of Rupees for the support of his dignity and contingent expenses, leaving the remainder of the revenues to be disbursed by the English Government. The grant of the Emperor entitled the Company to any surplus that might remain after the stipulated payments were made, and they now lacked nothing of sovereignty but the name. The views under which Clive and his colleagues acted were thus expounded by themselves —“The perpetual struggles for superiority between the Nabobs and your agents together with the recent proofs before us of notorious and avowed corruption, have rendered us unanimously of opinion after the most mature deliberation that no other method could be suggested of laying the axe to the root of all these evils than that of obtaining the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar and Orissa for the Company.” They observe further, “The experience of years has convinced us that a division of power is impossible without generating discontent and

hazarding the whole All must belong either to the company or to the Nabob and we leave you to judge which alternative is the most desirable and the most expedient in the present circumstances of affairs As to ourselves we know of no system we could adopt that could less affect the Nabob's dignity and at the same time secure the company against the fatal effects of future revolution than this of the Dewanny The power is now lodged where it can only be lodged with safety to us.

*Letter of Select Committee to Court of Directors 30th September 1765*

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#### GRANT OF THE DIWANI

*Firmaund from the King Shah Alum granting the Dewanny of Bengal Behar and Orissa to the Company 1765*

At this happy time our royal Firmaund indispensably requiring obedience is issued that whereas In consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well wishers worthy of our royal favours the English Company we have granted them the Dewanny of the Provinces of Bengal Behar and Orissa from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172 as a free gift and ultumgau without the association of any other person and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewanny which used to be paid to the Court It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of twenty six lakhs of Rupees a year for our royal revenue which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul dowla Behadur and regularly remit the same to the royal Circar, and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large Army for the protection of the Provinces of Bengal &c. we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said Provinces after remitting the sum of twenty six lakhs of Rupees to the royal Circar and providing for the expenses of the

Nizamut It is requisite that our royal descendants, the Vizers the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers the Muttasaddes of the Dewanny, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jaghirdars and Croories, as well the future as the present using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be assured from dismissal or removal, they must, on no account whatsoever give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewanny and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar of the 6th year of the Jaloos, the 12th of August 1765

*Contents of the Zimman.*

Agreeably to the paper which has received our Sign Manual, our royal commands are issued, that in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewanny of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal year 1172, as free gift and ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the customs of the Dewanny, which used to be paid to the Court, on condition of their being security for the sum of twenty-six lakhs of rupees a year for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowla Behauder, and after remitting the royal revenue and providing for the expenses of the Nizamut, whatsoever may remain we have granted to the said Company

The Dewanny of the Province of Bengal,

The Dewanny of the Province of Behar,

The Dewanny of the Province of Orissa.



## VI

## BENGAL IN 1772

To the HON BLE the Court OF DIRECTORS FOR AFFAIRS OF THE  
HON BLE THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF  
ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES Dated Fort  
William the 3rd November 1772

*Revenue Department*

At a meeting of your Council of the 30th August, it was unanimously resolved to adopt the plan proposed by our President and members of the Committee of Circuit at Cossimbazaar for removing the Seat of the Revenue Business to the Presidency and for putting this important Branch of your affairs under the immediate management of your Governor and Council In consequence of which we formed ourselves into a Board of Revenue the 13th ultimo Since that time all affairs respecting the Collections or Internal Government of the Provinces have been confined solely to this department and we shall henceforth address you separately upon all matters which come under these Heads

In order to give you a distinct idea of this subject, and to make it the more complete we shall begin by recapitulating the most important measures that have been lately taken and in which you have been in part advised in our former Letters

In one letter by the Nottingham you were informed of our intention of letting the lands throughout the provinces in farm upon long and well regulated Leases, and we are happy to reflect that such a material and principal mode of conducting the Collections should coincide so entirely with your sentiments and orders on the subject After the most serious and mature deliberation on this point, we determined, in our proceedings of the Committee of the Revenue of the 14th May, to establish a plan for settling the several districts upon

this footing and for the future government of your Collections. This being the Constitutional Ground-Work of all our subsequent measures, and of the system which we have since attempted to build upon it we have thought it necessary for your immediate attention to transmit a copy of it as a Number in the Packet with our reasons at large for adopting the Regulations therein laid down

Before we proceed further upon this subject, it may not be improper to premise some general Remarks on the State of the Province at this Juncture

The effects of the dreadful Famine which visited these Provinces in the Year 1770 and raged during the whole course of that Year have been regularly made known to you by our former advices and to the public by laboured descriptions in which every Circumstance of Fact, and every Art of Language, have been accumulated to raise Compassion, and to excite Indignation against your Servants, whose unhappy lot it was to be the witnesses and spectators of the sufferings of their fellow-creatures. But its influence on the Revenue has been yet unnoticed, and even unfelt, but by those from whom it is collected, for, notwithstanding the loss of at least one-third of the Inhabitants of the Province and the consequent decrease of the Cultivation, the nett collections of the year 1771 exceeded even those of 1768, as will appear from the following Abstract of Accounts of the Board of Revenue at Moorsheadabad for the four last years —

Bengal Year			
1175 [1768-69] —	Net Collections,	..	1,52,54,856 9 4 3
1176 [1769-70] —	The year of dearth, which was pro-	} deductive of the Famine in the following year,	1,31,49,148 6 3 2
1177 [1770-71] —	The year of the Famine and Mor-	} tality,	1,40,06,030 7 3 2
1178 [1771-72]			1,57,26,576 10 2 1
Deduct the amount of deficiencies occasioned in the Revenue by unavoidable losses to Government,			
			3,92,915 11 12 3
			<hr/> 1,53,33,660 14 9 2

It was naturally to be expected that the diminution of the Revenue should have kept an equal pace with the other Consequences of so great a Calamity That it did not was owing to its being violently kept up to its former Standard To ascertain all the means by which this was effected will not be easy It is difficult to trace the Progress of the Collections through all its Intricate Channels or even to comprehend all the Articles which compose the Revenue in its first operations One Tax however we will endeavour to describe as it may serve to account for the Equality which has been preserved in the past Collections and to which it has principally contributed It is called Najay, and it is an Assessment upon the actual inhabitants of every Inferior Description of the Lands to make up for the Loss sustained in the Rents of their neighbours who are either dead or have fled the Country This Tax though equally impolitic in its Institution and oppressive in the mode of exacting It was authorised by the ancient and general usage of the Country It had not the sanction of Government but took place as a matter of course in ordinary cases, and while the Lands were in a state of cultivation It was scarcely felt, and never or rarely complained of However irreconcilable to strict Justice it afforded a reparation to the State for occasional Deficiencies; it was a kind of Security against Desertion by making the inhabitants thus mutually responsible for each other and precluded the Inferior Collector from availing himself of the Pretext of waste or Deserted Lands to withhold any part of his Collections. But the same Practice which at another Time and under different Circumstances would have been beneficial became at this period an insupportable Burthen upon the inhabitants The Tax not being levied by any Fixed Rate or Standard fell heaviest upon the wretched Survivors of those Villages which had suffered the greatest Depopulation and were of course the most entitled to the Lenity of Government. It had also the additional Evil attending it, in common with every other Variation from the regular

Practice that it afforded an opportunity to the Farmers and Shicdars to levy other Contributions on the People under color of it, and even to increase this to whatever magnitude they pleased, since they were in course the Judges of the Loss sustained, and of the Proportion which the Inhabitants were to pay to replace it

Complaints against this Grievance were universal throughout the Province, and it was to be feared that the continuance of it would be so great a check to the Industry of the People, as to impoverish the Revenue in the last Degree, when their former savings by which it was supported were gone

Though 7 Years had elapsed since the Company became possessed of the Dewanny, yet no regular Process had ever been formed for conducting the Business of the Revenue Every Zemindaree and every Taluk was left to its own peculiar Customs These indeed were not inviolably adhered to The Novelty of the Business to those who were appointed to superintend it, the chicanery of the people whom they were obliged to employ as their agents, the accidental Exigencies of each District, and, not unfrequently, the just Discernment of the Collector, occasioned many changes Every change added to the confusion which involved the whole, and few were either authorised or known by the presiding Members of the Government The Articles which composed the Revenue—the Form of keeping Accounts, the Computation of time, even the Technical Terms, which ever form the greatest part of the obscurity of every science—differed as much as the soil and productions of the Province This Confusion had its origin in the Nature of the Former Government The Nazims exacted what they could from the Zemindars, and great Farmers of the Revenue, whom they left at Liberty to plunder all below them, reserving to themselves the prerogative of plundering them in their Turn, when they were supposed to have enriched themselves with the spoils of the Country The Mutisiddees who stood between the Nazim and the

Zemindars, or between them and the People, had each their respective shares of the public Wealth. These Profits were considered as Illegal Embezzlements and therefore were taken with every Precaution that could ensure secrecy and being consequently fixed by no Rate depended on the Temper Abilities or Power of each Individual for the Amount. It therefore became a duty in every man to take the most effectual measures to conceal the Value of his Property and elude every Inquiry into his Conduct, while the Zemindars and other Landholders who had the Advantage of long Possession, availed themselves of it by complex Divisions of the Lands and intricate modes of Collection to perplex the Officers of the Government and confine the knowledge of the Rents to themselves. It will easily be imagined that much of the Current Wealth stopped in its way to the public Treasury. It is rather Foreign to the purpose of this Exposition, but too apposite not to be remarked that it was fortunate such a system did prevail since the Embezzlements which it covered preserved the Current Specie of the Country and returned it into Circulation while a great part of the Wealth received by the Government was expended in the Country and but a small superfluity remained for the remittances to the Court of Delhee where it was lost for ever to this province.

To the original Defects inherent in the Constitution of these Provinces, were added the unequal and unsettled Government of them since they became our property. A part of the Lands which were before in our possession such as Burdwan Midnapore and Chittagong continued subject to the authority of the Chiefs, who were immediately accountable to the Presidency. The 24 Pergunahs granted by the Treaty of Plassey to the Company were theirs on a different Tenure being their immediate property by the Exclusion of the Zemindars or hereditary Proprietors their rents were received by Agents appointed to each Pergunah and remitted to the Collector, who resided in Calcutta.

The Rest of the Province was for some time entrusted to the

joint-charge of the Naib Dewan and Resident of the Durbar, and afterwards to the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, and to the Supervisors who were accountable to that Council. The administration itself was totally excluded from a concern in the Branch of the Revenue.

The internal arrangement of each District varied no less than that of the whole Province. The Lands subject to the same Collector, and intermixed with each other, were some held by Farm, some superintended by Sicdars, or Agents on the part of the Collector, and some let to the Zemindars and Talucdars themselves, under various degrees of Controul. The First were racked without mercy, because the Leases were but of a Year's standing, and the Farmer had no interest or Check to restrain him from exacting more than the Land could bear. The second were equally drained, and the Rents embezzled, as it was not possible for the Collector, with the greatest degree of attention on his part, to detect or prevent it. The latter, it may be supposed, were not exempted from the general corruption. If they were, the other Lands which lay near them would suffer by the migration of their inhabitants, who would naturally seek Refuge from oppression in a milder and more equitable Government.

The Administration of Justice has so intimate a connection with the Revenue, that we cannot omit the mention of it, while we are treating of this subject in a general view, although we have already given our sentiments upon it at large in another place, to which we shall crave leave to refer. The Security of private property is the greatest Encouragement to Industry, on which the wealth of every State depends. The Limitation of the Powers annexed to the Magistracy, the Suppression of every Usurpation of them by private authority, and the Facilitating of the access to Justice, were the only means by which such a Security could be obtained. But this was impossible under the circumstances which had hitherto prevailed. While the Nizamut and the Dewannee were in different Hands, and all the Rights

of the Former were admitted, the Courts of Justice which were the sole Province of the Nazim, though constituted for the general Relief of the Subjects could receive the Reformation. The Court and Officers of the Nizamnt were continued, but their Efficacy was destroyed by the Ruling Influence of the Dewannee. The Regular Course of Justice was everywhere suspended but every man exercised it who had the Power of compelling others to submit to his Decisions. The people were oppressed they were discouraged, and disabled from improving the culture of their Lands and in proportion as they had the demands of Individuals to gratify they were prevented from discharging what was legally due to Government. °

Such was the State of the Revenue when your Commands were received by the Lapwing and happily removed the difficulties which had hitherto opposed the Introduction of a more perfect System by abolishing the Office of Najib Dewan and authorising your administration to assume openly the Management of the Dewannee in your Name without any Foreign Intervention

In the Execution of these your Intentions the points which claimed our principal attention as will appear from the above Description were to render the Accounts of the Revenue simple and intelligible, to establish Fixed Rates for the Collections to make the Mode of them uniform in all parts of the Province and to provide for an equal administration of Justice. In the steps which we have already taken, we have laboured to obtain these ends with what Success will be seen hereafter

The Regulations which we have before mentioned being completed and the Committee of Circult appointed consisting (as we mentioned in our last) of the Governor Messrs Middleton Dacres Lawrell and Graham We published our Intention of Farming all the Lands of the Province of Bengal on Leases of Five Years and invited all Persons to make Proposals

The Committee first proceeded to Kishennaggur and there entered on the Settlement of the District of Nuddea. The

Proposals which were delivered to them were expressed in so vague and uncertain a manner, and differed so widely from each other in Form, that it was impossible to make a comparison, or to ascertain the Proportional Amount of each and the few only that were intelligible, contained very low and disadvantageous Terms The Committee were therefore of opinion that these Offers shou'd be rejected, and that the Lands shou'd be put up at Public Auction, tho' contrary to the original Intention

To remove all obstacles that might present themselves, from an uncertainty in the Bidders with respect to the more Minute Articles of the Collections, and the Grounds on which the Settlement was to be established between the Farmer and Cultivator, the Committee found it indispensably necessary before the Sale began, to form an entirely new Hustabood, or Explanation of the diverse and complex articles which were to compose the Collections These consisted of the Assall or Original Ground Rent, and a variety of Taxes called Aboabs, which had been indiscriminately levied at different periods by the Government, the Zemindars, Farmers, and even by the inferior Collectors One of these Aboabs we have explained above, many of them are incapable of any Explanation

After the Committee had made a thorough Investigation of the above articles of the Revenue, they proposed to deduct such as appeared most oppressive to the Inhabitants, or of a late Establishment, at the same time reserving those which were of long standing, and had been cheerfully (*sic*) submitted to by the Ryotts, these being in fact a considerable part of the Neat Rents Among the former were the Duties arbitrarily levied by the Zemindars and Farmers upon all Goods and Necessaries of Life passing by water thro' the interior part of the country The Bazee Jumma, or Fines for petty crimes and misdemeanours, were also, agreeably to the humane and equitable spirit of your Orders, totally abolished, as well as the Haldarry, or Tax upon Marriage, which yielded a trifling Revenue to the Government, was very injurious to the State,



and could tend only to the discouragement and decrease of Population,—an object at all times of general Importance but more especially at this Period, from the great Loss of Inhabitants which the country has sustained by the late Famine and the mortality which attended it. These several Deductions in favour of the Natives altho the immediate cause of decreasing the Rent Roll will doubtless in time be productive of the most salutary effects as they tend to encourage the Manufactures and Trade of the country to retrieve the loss of Inhabitants, to free the People from vexatious prosecutions and by promoting the general Ease of the country virtually to support and Improve its Revenue

In order to secure the Inhabitants in the quiet Possession of the lands whilst they held them on terms of cultivation and to prevent such Exactions as aforementioned in future the Committee formed new Amulnamas or Leases in which the claims upon the Ryotts were precisely and distinctly ascertained and the Farmers restricted from making any further Demands under the severest Penalties To this end and to prevent the Farmers from eluding this restriction they were ordered to grant new Pottahs or Deeds to the Ryotts the Form of which was drawn out by the Committee and made public specifying the conditions on which they were to hold their Lands, the separate Heads or Articles of the Rents and every encouragement was contained in them to cultivate the waste ground on a moderate and increasing Rent.

Another principal Object with the Committee was to reduce the Charges of Collection as low as possible from a conviction that the retrenchment of improper and unnecessary Expenses opens a source of Increase of Revenue the most eligible, because the most consistent with the case of the Inhabitants For this purpose We have formed an uniform and regular Establishment for all the necessary Charges to be incurred in the Cutcheries of the several Districts under positive Restrictions that they shall not be exceeded without our being previously advised. Thus, We doubt not, will prove a great saving to the

Hon'ble Company, as it will be the effectual means of preventing in future all superfluous and unnecessary Disbursements. And We think we may venture to promise that this Article will be daily attended to, as it will be almost the only Care of the Auditor to prevent every Deviation from it in the Accounts which are to pass his Inspection.

Also, these previous steps were resolved on the Lands of Kishennagar were put up to Public Auction and a Final Settlement it was made for 14 Years on an accumulating Increase, for the Particulars of which we must beg leave to offer you to the proceedings of the Committee, which are now transmitted.

During the course of the sale at Kishennagar, the Rajah of that place gave in proposals for farming the whole District, which leads us to the following general observations on the Subject of Zemindars and Talookdars in the Province of Bengal.

Where it can be done with propriety, the entrusting the Collections of the Districts to the Hereditary Zemindars would be a measure we should be very willing to adopt, as we believe that the People would be treated with more tenderness, the Rents more improved, and the Cultivation more likely to be encouraged the Zemindar less liable to failure or deficiencies than the Farmer, from the perpetual Interest which the former hath in the country, and because his Inheritance cannot be removed, and it would be improbable he would risk the loss of it by eloping from his District, which is too frequently practised by a Farmer when he is hard pressed for the Payment of his Ballances, and is frequently predetermined when he receives his Farm.

With respect to the Talookdarrys and inconsiderable Zemindarrys, which formed a part of the Huzzoor Zilahs or Districts which paid their rents immediately to the General Cutcherry at Moorshedabad, as well as many others of the same kind in different parts of Bengal, all arguments have been weighed, whether in favour of the just Claim Government has upon their Lands for a Revenue adequate to their real Value,

or of the Zemindars and Talookdars in support of their Rights and Privileges grounded upon the Possession of Regular Grants a long series of family Succession and fair purchase. These being only considered there occurred to us only the two following Modes which could be pursued in making their settlement. The First was to lett (*sic*) the Lands to Farm to put the Renters in entire Possession and Authority over them obliging them to pay each Zemindar or Talookdar a certain allowance or percentage for the subsistence of himself and family. The second was to settle with the Zemindars themselves on the footing of Farmers obliging them first to enter into all the Conditions of a Farmer's Lease Secondly to pay the same Revenue that could be expected from Farmers Thirdly to give responsible securities and Fourthly to admit a reserve in favour of Government for making during the course of their actual Lease an exact Hustabood (Valuation from Accounts) or a Measurement of their Possessions in order to ascertain their true Value at a future settlement, should the present Accounts be found to be fallacious or concealments suspected. We have allowed a degree of weight to the arguments of the Zemindars and Talookdars in favour of their plea of Right, which, by adopting the first mode of settlement, would doubtless be exposed to Risk for as the Authority given to the Farmers would reduce the present Incumbents to the level of mere Pensioners and greatly weaken their claims as Proprietors so in the course of a few long Leases their Rights and Titles might, from the designs of the Farmers to establish themselves in their Estates the death of old Inheritors and the succession of Minors be involved in such obscurity doubt and controversy as to deprive them totally of their Inheritance. To expose the Zemindars and Talookdars to this risk is neither consistent with our Notions of Equity nor with your orders which direct that we do not by any sudden change alter the constitution nor deprive the Zemindars etc of their antient privileges and Immunities

Another argument, drawn from the conduct naturally to be expected from the Zemindars and Talookdars, weighed strongly with us, and proves an objection to adopting the first Mode. From a long continuance of the Lands in their Families, it is to be concluded they have rivetted an authority in the District, acquired an Ascendency over the Minds of the Ryotts, and ingratiated their affections. From Causes like these, if entire Deprivation were to take place, there could not be expected less Material Effects than all the Evils of a divided Authority, prejudicial to the Revenue, and Desertion and Desolation of the Lands. Whereas from continuing the Lands under the Management of those who have a natural and perpetual Interest in their Prosperity provided their Value is not of too great an amount, solid Advantages may be expected to accrue. Every consideration then sways us, where it can be done with the prospect of the advantage before mentioned, to adopt the second mode in settling with the Inferior Zemindars and Talookdars. First, an equivalent Revenue may be thereby obtained, with security for its punctual Payment. Secondly, the converting them into Farmers establishes the Government's right of putting their Lands on that Footing, whenever they shall think proper, the Awe of which must constantly operate to secure their good behaviour and good Management. Thirdly, the Clause of Security, to which they are subjected, will also have the same Tendency, at the same time that it may be strictly put in force where there is cause to suspect Concealments, or a prospect presents of Increase to the Revenue.

Agreeably to these Ideas, the Committee at Kishennagur exempted the several Talooks in that District from the Public Sale, as the Possessors engaged to abide by such a Settlement as should be deemed equivalent and just, and an exact valuation was accordingly made of their Lands. It was, however, found that the Terms offered by the Zemindar of Kishennagur, as before mentioned, were not equivalent to the expectations the Committee had reason to entertain from the

Public Auction of the separate Farms, and the Faith of Government having already been engaged to such Farmers whose offers had been formally accepted For these Reasons joined with the well known subtle and faithless character of the Zemindar it was determined to reject his proposals and to give the Preference to the offer of the Farmers which were more advantageous to Government

The Settlement of Kishennagur being concluded a fixed Dewan was chosen by the Committee to be joined with the Collector in the Superintendency of the Revenues Conformably to our Established Regulations before referred to and instructions were accordingly given him for his guidance

We have been thus explicit in relating the Transactions at Kishennagur both as these will serve to point out the various effects of our previous Determinations as well as the Motives which gave Occasion to those which were superadded by the Committee from local or general Observation and to convey an Idea of the Plan on which the settlement of the whole Province will be formed of which that of Kishennagur may be regarded as the Model

From Kishennagur the Committee proceeded to Cossimbazar and arrived there the beginning of July One of their first objects was the regulating the Nabob's Household and Stipend, and the appointing of the necessary Officers for the Management of his Affairs But as these Matters will be fully discussed in our Letter from the General Department We shall confine this Address solely to the current Business of the Revenue

The Province of Radshahy and the Huzzoor Zilahs were taken next into Consideration and the same Regulations established previous to their Settlement, as at Kishennagur Public Advertisements being made for receiving Proposals for forming the different Purgunnahs in Radshahy and a proper time limited for their delivery the terms given in for the whole of the Western Division were examined, and the offers of the

Farmers and Zemindar accurately compared Those of the latter were found more advantageous to Government A settlement for five years was accordingly concluded with the Ranny Bowanny, the Zemindar of that District, whose Substance, Credit, and Character rendered the Conditions of her Offer the more desirable, especially as she consented to the Committee's Plan of sub-dividing the Lands into fourteen Lots of Farms and engaged to deposit the Farmer's Cabooleats or Agreements as a Collateral Security with her own, for the punctual Payment of her Rents No other Proposals being given in for the Eastern Division of Radshahy, it was in like manner farmed to the zemindar, whose Knowledge of, and long-established Reputation in, the Country enabled her to make more advantageous Offers for this also than any other person, and We doubt not that We shall realize the whole of the Revenue from these important and extensive Districts, which will receive an additional Advantage, besides a Reduction of the Expence of the Collections, in being thus united under the hereditary and ancient Proprietor

For the particular Reasons and Arguments urged in our several Proceedings, and which will be farther treated on in our Letter from the other Department, you will observe that We have found it expedient to annex to Mr Middleton's Appointment of Resident of the Durbar and Chief of Cossimbazar, the Superintendency of the Collection of Radshahy, in the conducting of which, the whole being put under the immediate Management of the Zemindar, his only care as Collector will be to receive the monthly Kists as they may become due, to attend to the Complaints and Representations of the Ryotts, and to see that the Regulations which have been made are duly adhered to

The Huzzoor Zillah, and the inferior Zemindaries and Talookdaries bordering on Moorshedabad and Rajshahy, were also settled on the same Plan, a Preference being always given to the Offers of the Hereditary Possessors as before observed But as it would take up too much of your Time to descend

to a minute Detail of these numerous Settlements we must take the Liberty of referring you to the Proceedings of the late Committee of Circuit. You will therein notice that we have appointed five additional Collectors to superintend the Revenue of those Districts. It was with some reluctance we found ourselves under the necessity of increasing the Number of these Appointments. They were rendered unavoidable by the Intricacy of those parts of the Huzzoor Zilahs which have been thus distributed amongst them but We hope that the Liberty which we have given to the Farmers who may be so disposed, to pay their Rents immediately to the Sudder or Head Cutcherry will in time enable us to reduce this Establishment.

In the Intervals of Public Business the Committee were employed in deliberating on the steps referred to them which were proper to be taken for carrying into Execution your late Orders by the Lapwing where you declare your Intention of Standing forth as Dewan of the Agency of the Company's Servants, to assume the entire Management of the Revenues leaving it to us to plan and execute this important Work by adopting such Regulations and pursuing such Measures as should at once insure to the Company every possible Advantage.

The first Consideration was whether the Board of Revenue at Moorsbedabad should be abolished and the Business of the Collections in all its Branches put under the management of the Members of your Administration at the Presidency and after allowing due Weight to every Argument that occurred We agreed unanimously with the Committee in the Necessity of this last Measure which has accordingly been since carried into Execution. We take the Liberty of laying before you the Grounds upon which we have ventured to make this alteration in the flattering hopes that it will meet with your approval.

As the Administration of Justice, and the Collection of the Revenue are by far the most important object of Government, they certainly claim the first Attention of your President and Council especially at a time when so many weighty

matters, intimately connected with them, are entrusted by you to our Investigation and Judgment, and when the State of the Country requires timely, well-digested, and spirited Measures While the Controuling and Executive Part of the Revenue, and the correspondence with the Collectors, was carried by a Council at Moorshedabad, the Members of your Administration had not an opportunity of acquiring that thorough and comprehensive knowledge of the Revenue, which can only result from practical Experience But as your late orders tend to establish a new System, enjoin many new Regulations and Enquiries, which could not properly be delegated to Subordinate Council, it became absolutely necessary that the Business of the Revenue should be conducted under our immediate Observation and Direction

This change, we trust will afford great Relief to the Inhabitants of the Provinces, in opening to them a more ready Access to Justice, insomuch that appeals from the Decisions of the Inferior Courts may now be made directly to the Presidency, whereas formerly they were first transmitted to the Council at Moorshedabad, and from thence an Appeal lay to Us

Another good Consequence will be the great Increase of Inhabitants, and of Wealth in Calcutta, which will not only add to the Consumption of our most valuable Manufactures imported from home, but will be the means of conveying to the Natives a more intimate Knowledge of our Customs and Manners, and of conciliating them to our Policy and Government

Besides the Reasons above urged for the Dissolution of the Council at Moorshedabad, We must beg leave to add this farther Argument, in reply to the objection which may possibly be made to it as repugnant to your Commands of the 30th June 1769 We now conceive them, however to be superseded by your later Orders and the Discretionary Power you have given us in your letter by the Lapwing Nevertheless, we should have thought ourselves indispensably bound to have



adhered to the Spirit of them so far as they could be made to coincide with the new System of the Dewanny but we found them totally subverted by it

While Moorshedabad remained the Seat of your Collections every consideration required the establishment of a Council to Superintend them as it was a trust every way too great for an individual On these grounds alone we presumed your Orders for forming such Councils at Moorshedabad and Patna were framed But when the office of Naib Dawan was abolished and you had declared your Resolution to place the Collections under the immediate charge of your own Servants there remained no Reason for continuing that Department of the Revenue at such a distance from the Observation of your Governor and Council and the Removal of the Collection to the Presidency as it left no Business for an inferior Council of course rendered their continuance and the charges attending such an establishment needless We will indulge ourselves therefore with another Hope that an annual saving of some Lacks of Rupees will be derived from this alteration altho We are well aware of the expence and Inconvenience which ever attends Innovations of all kinds on their first Institution

As the Reasons for the Removal of Khalsa are treated on very largely in the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit of 28th July and contain many Observations on the Nature of the Revenue in General which are too voluminous to be inserted in the Body of the Letter we wish to recommend these to your particular attention

The Plan which we have formed for conducting the Business of the Khalsa or Superior Office of the Collections will go a Number in the Packet

The more regular Administration of Justice was also deliberated on by the Committee of Circuit and a Plan was formed by them which afterwards met with our Approbation We cannot give you a better Idea of the Grounds on which

this was framed, than by referring you to a Copy of it, together with a Letter from the Committee to the Board on the Occasion, both of which make Numbers in this Packet, and we earnestly recommend them to your Perusal, requesting to be assisted with such further Orders and Instructions thereon as they may require for completing the system, which we have thus endeavoured to establish on the most equitable, solid, and permanent footing We hope they will be read with that Indulgence which We are humbly of Opinion is due to a Work of this kind, undertaken on the plain Principles of Experience and common Observation, without the advantages which an intimate Knowledge of the Theory of Law might have afforded us We have endeavoured to adapt our Regulations to the Manners and Understanding of the People, and Exigencies of the Country, adhering, as closely as We were able, to their Antient Usages and Institutions It will be still a Work of some Months, We fear, before they can be thoroughly established throughout the Provinces, but We shall think our Labors amply recompensed if they meet with your Approbation, and are productive of the good Effects we had in view

Our President returned to Calcutta about the middle of September Mr Middleton remained at Moorshedabad to take charge of his Appointments, and the other three Members of the Committee of Circuit proceeded to Dacca, where they are now employed in making the Settlement of that Province and the adjacent Districts, after which they will continue their Tour to the remaining Divisions on the Eastern Side of Bengal, and We hope to transmit the further Particulars of their Proceedings by one of the Ships of this Season, together with a Complete Statement of your Revenue for the following five Years

Besides the General Plan before mentioned for regulating the New System of conducting the Revenues, and the several other Points therein referred to, the Committee of Revenue at the Presidency, composed of the remaining Members of your Council, were employed in preparing the Settlements of the

Districts of Houghly Midnapoor Beerbhoom, Jessore and the Calcutta Lands. These together with the Districts allotted to the Committee of Circuit complete the whole of Bengal excepting Burdwan where the Lands are already let in Farm on Leases of five years which do not expire till the end of the Bengal year 1182 (A D 1775)

In consequence of the Public Advertisement for making the Settlement of Houghly a number of Proposals for farming the Lands were delivered in and after an exact scrutiny was made into them those which appeared to be the most advantageous to Government were accepted It was originally intended to have lett them in small Farms but the Offers for large Lots being much higher than the others We were tempted to prefer them There were likewise many Talook darries and petty Zemindaries in this District the Possessors of which represented to us the Length of Time they had held their Lands and the wretched condition they would be reduced to were they now to be deprived of them As they engaged to pay to Government an increased Rent in proportion to their value We were induced by the same Motives as actuated the Committee of circuit in similar instances to continue do them their hereditary possession In one or two of the Pargunnas some Deductions were found necessary to be made on account of the particular degree in which they had suffered by the late Famine but a favourable increase being added to the other Pargunnas We have reason to be satisfied with the good success which has attended the Settlement of Houghly and its Dependancies

The Settlement of Beerbhoom Bissenpoor and Pacheat has also been effected upon an increasing Revenue on a Plan similar to the other Farmed Lands

The Districts of Jessore and Mahomed Shahy are Settled on Terms advantageous to Government as appears by the Accounts delivered in by Mr Lane a Member of our Board who was departed to accomplish that Business and a full

Representation of his proceedings is recorded on (*sic*) our Consultation of the 10th of August

By the Proceedings it appears that the Calcutta Lands have been completely farmed, but as some of the Farmers have flown off from their Engagements and absconded, and the Execution of the Title Deeds with the rest is delayed, We have hitherto been prevented from finally adjusting this Business We shall therefore defer transmitting a further Statement of these Lands till the next Ship, as well as that of Midnapoor, the settlement of which is now in great forwardness

In pursuance of your positive Injunctions, We have been endeavouring for some time past to collect the fullest Information concerning the Salt Business in Bengal, that we may be enabled to form such Regulations as shall appear the best calculated for securing the Duties of Government upon that article, and for the general Benefit of the Trade For our Proceedings in these Matters, so far as we have hitherto been able to effect, we refer you to the Consultations now transmitted, and particularly to that of the 7th October And as this subject is one of the first that will fall under our Consideration, We expect in our next Advices to furnish you with a Complete State of it

The Hougly disputed Ballances of Salt, which have been a Matter of Contention and Difficulty for these two years past, We have at length happily adjusted, as recorded in our Proceedings of the 1st of October

The Bukshbunder or Customs at Hougly, as well as those of the Pachetra at Moorshedabad, have not been lett to farm, but to continue to be collected by the Officers of Government, in order that no Obstacles may occur in New-modelling this Source of your Revenue agreeably to your Instructions At present we wait for Advices and further Lights from the Committee of Circuit at Dacca concerning the Shawbunder, or Head Custom House, in that District Being furnished with

these, We shall proceed to form one general and uniform Plan for the Collection of Duties, which will be duly transmitted for your Information

The humane Attention shown in your Commands of the 30th June 1769 and recommended in many of your Letters since that Date to the Rights of the Zemindars who have inherited Lands from their Ancestors encourages us to solicit your Compassion for the antient Proprietors of the Twenty four Purgannas or Calcutta Lands, which became the Company's Zemindarry by the Treaty of Plassey and from which they were consequently dispossessed. A small Part of their Lands were before that Time united with the Zemindaries of Bordwan and Nuddea whose Zemindars are amply provided for. The other Zemindars and Taalindars (*sic*) have continued since that Time in a State of extreme Indigence. Some of them have large families to maintain. It has been the usual Rule of the Mogul Government when any Zemindar was divested of authority to allow him a Substance out of the Rents of his Zemindarie proportioned to the annual income of it. This proportion commonly amounted to One Tenth. We would not recommend so large an Allowance for these people. We are persuaded that they will be contented with a much more moderate income and receive it with Gratitude. As this Indulgence has been extended to all the other Zemindars in both the Provinces since they were placed under your Government We have judged that this Representation of the Case of those who alone have been excluded from it would not be unacceptable to you.

As the Settlement of the Province of Baher had been made for a Term of Years, and therefore did not require any immediate Alteration We shall wait to finish the whole of our Regulations in Bengal before we attempt any Innovation in that Province. The only point on which We think we can give you any previous Intimation of our future Proceedings in those Parts is that we deem proper to unite the Collections with those of Bengal and establish the same Regulations in

both Provinces, as soon as We can do it with convenience, and without adding to our present Embarrassments

In the Proceedings of our Committee of Revenue of the 10th May is recorded the Particulars of a Dispute which subsisted between the late Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad and the Supervisor of Dinagepore, Mr Henry Cottreil, the Consequence of which was the recalling the latter from his Appointment The several Arguments urged against his Conduct by the Council of Revenue at Moorshedabad, as well as his Letter in Vindication of himself, appear fully in the above Proceedings, and we must beg leave to refer you to them, that you may form such a Judgement of this Affair as your Candor and Justice may point out We are, with great Respect, Hon'ble Sirs, Your most faithful humble Servants,

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS

R BARKER

W ALDERSEY.

THOMAS LANE

RICH'D BARWELL

JAMES HARRIS

H GOODWIN

FORT-WILLIAM, *the 3rd November 1772*

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## VII

### THE REGULATING ACT OF 1773

#### A

In 1773 the Company petitioned government for pecuniary aid which was granted but the inquiry that the House of commons made upon this occasion into their affairs, was followed by an act of the legislature which made many important changes in their government both at home and abroad. The principal of these were —

1st That the Court of directors should in future instead of being chosen annually be elected for four years six members annually but none to hold their seat for longer than four years.

2nd That the qualification stock should be 1000l instead of 500l that 3000l should confer two votes and 6000l three votes

3d That in lieu of the Mayn's court the jurisdiction of which was limited to small mercantile causes a supreme court of judicature consisting of a chief judge and three puisne judges should be appointed by the crown with great and extended powers of cognizance over the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the subjects of England their servants and dependants residing within the company's territories in Bengal

4th A Governor General and four counsellors were appointed to Fort William and vested with full powers over the other presidencies. When any differences should occur the opinion of the majority was to be decisive and this board was directed by the act to transmit regular reports of its proceedings to the directors, who were within fourteen days of the receipt of their despatches to furnish copies of them to one of His Majesty's secretaries of state to whom they were also to send copies of any rules and ordinances which they

should have made and these, if disapproved by His Majesty, were to become null and void

This act appointed Warren Hastings, Esquire, Governor-General of India, and John Clavering, Esquire, the Honourable George Monson, Richard Barwell, and Philip Francis, Esquires, the four first counsellors

## B

The act of 1773 made the East India Company more dependant than before upon the King's ministers Mr Hastings was nominated Governor-General, but in the same commission three gentlemen were appointed to council, who had learned the lessons on Indian Government in England, and whose views were in direct opposition to his upon almost every point The consequence was, that the administration passed into their hands as the majority in council, and remained with them, till the death of General Clavering restored the preponderance to the appointed head of the Government The effect of such a state of affairs may be imagined The spirit of discord which prevailed at the council board spread throughout every branch of the service, and the natives of India saw in our divisions a source of weakness from which they argued our downfall

*Malcolm*





*Select Hastings Correspondence*

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To JOSIAS DUPRE, Esq

*Fort William 9th March 1773*

Our own provinces have worn something of a warlike appearance this year having been infested by bands of Senassies who have defeated two small parties of pergunnah sepoy (a rascally corps) and cut off the two officers who commanded them One was Captain Thomas whom you knew Four battallions of the brigade sepoy are now in pursuit of them but they will not stand an engagement, and have neither camp equipage nor even clothes to retard their flight. Yet I hope we shall yet make an example of some of them as they are shut in by the rivers which they cannot pass when closely pursued

The history of this people is curious They inhabit or rather possess the country lying south of the hills of Tibet from Cabul to China. They go mostly naked They have neither towns houses nor families but rove continually from place to place, recruiting their numbers with the healthiest children they can steal in the countries through which they pass Thus they are the stoutest and most active men in India Many are merchants They are all pilgrims and held by all castes of Gentoos in great veneration This infatuation prevents our obtaining any intelligence of their motions or aid from the country against them notwithstanding very rigid orders which have been published for these purposes insomuch that they often appear in the heart of the province as if they dropped from heaven They are hardy bold and enthusiastic to a degree surpassing credit Such are the Senassies the Gipsies of Hindostan We have dissolved all the pergunnah sepoy and fixed stations of the brigade sepoy on our frontiers which are to be employed only in the defence of the provinces and to be relieved every three months This I hope will secure the peace of the country against future irruptions and as they are no longer to be employed in the

collections, the people will be freed from the oppressions of our own plunderers

A plan is on foot for the establishment of a bank in Calcutta for the purpose of bringing the collections by bills to the presidency, and affording individuals the same means of making remittances to the avarungs, or markets of the country, for trade. The scheme is formed, and waits only for fit persons to execute it

A plan has been formed and completed for collecting the public customs. It is simple, calculated for the freedom of trade, and liable to no abuses. All the petty chokeys of the country are withdrawn, and the distinction of the dustuck, which (among other objections) pointed out to the rogues in office what boats they were to pass unmolested and what they might plunder with impunity, is abolished. The duty is fixed to  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, the prices of every article fixed and made public, and the duty paid, the goods pass unmolested to the extremities of the province. I have hopes of being able to effect another reformation, which will also contribute much to the freedom of trade by recalling all the gomastahs, and providing the investment by Dadney contracts, or ready money purchases, to declare the weavers free to work for whom they will, and to support them in that freedom. Different circumstances require different and often opposite measures. The company and their collectors and chiefs of factories are the only merchants of the country, they force advances of money on the weavers, and compel them to give cloths in return at an arbitrary valuation, which is often no more than the cost of materials, so that the poor weaver only lives by running in debt to his employers, and thus becomes their slave for life. The collectors trade with the money which they get in the districts, which affects the circulation as well as commerce of the country. By the mode proposed the investment will be dearer, but the trade of the country will be restored, and indeed this country has wonderful resources for it. The remittances of the revenue will flow back in circulation, and in their customs

or collections the Company will obtain an ample compensation for the difference which it will make in the price of their cloths. If they do not, they can better afford to pay dear for them than the Dutch or French can.

I have some thoughts of making another excursion for the purpose of obtaining a meeting with the Vizier who has also expressed his wish more than once for an interview. Hitherto he has been entirely managed by the military who have contrived to keep him so weak that his alliance is of no manner of use to us but obliges us on every alarm to send our army to prevent his being overpowered by his enemies which has been usually done at the Company's expense little being required for reimbursement and that little paid after long delays. I wish to establish a new and more rational alliance between him and the Company and more creditable to both and to establish his dependence on the Government instead of the military influence which has hitherto ruled him. In this design I am assured of the most hearty support of the Council.

It is scarcely worth mentioning that we have been lately engaged in a kind of Polligar war with the inhabitants of Bhutan for the recovery of Cooch Behar which lies between their mountains and Rungpore and has been for some years in their possession. We have fought and defeated them in two desperate engagements and we have possession of the country but they appear resolutely bent on retrieving their misfortunes and will give us much trouble being a sturdy intrepid race of people. In a late engagement with a detachment of 226 sepoy which lasted from 2 in the morning till 7 and in which they were the assailants 200 of them were killed on the spot. We have a battalion on this side commanded by a very good officer. It will be reinforced by another. The country is equal in fertility and cultivation to any in Bengal and I have no doubt of the revenue repaying our charges at least. I hope more from the possession of it, besides that it will complete our boundary and confine these hardy neighbours to their own hills.

TO LAURENCE SULLIVAN, Esq

*Fort William, 20th March, 1774*

The inquiry into the conduct of Mahommed Reza Cawn is closed and referred to the Court of Directors for their judgment, which it is probable will acquit him of every charge against him. In the meantime we have released him on his giving an obligation that he will not leave the province without leave of the Board and he has chosen Calcutta for his residence. I in my conscience acquit him making a trade of grain in the famine but, of the charges of embezzlement, had he been an hundred fold guilty, it would have been impossible at this distance of time to have proved it against him. I mean in the revenue. The account of the Nizamut were in the hands of Rajah Goordass, Nundcomar's son, whom I must suppose capable of producing the most authentic proofs, if any exist, of the Naib's misapplication of the money entrusted to him for the Nabob's use. These ten months past I have been urging the old man, his son and the Begum for these accounts in person, by letter and by the means of the resident, Mr Middleton. They have been at length sent and contain nothing. A charge has since followed of 262,000 rupees, said to be embezzled in the article of exchange. This was produced by Goordass. It was delivered to Mahommed Reza Cawn, and he immediately avowed the fact, *i e*, that such a perquisite did formerly exist, and was the property of the treasurers, but was converted to a fund for the payment of sundry religious and gratuitous expenses of the Nabab's household, by the advice and with the concurrence of Mr Sykes and he has shown by an account in what manner it was disposed of. Here the affair rests, concluded, so far as it respects Mahommed Reza Cawn, but I expect not to escape censure in my own person for having brought it to so quiet and unimportant an issue. Whatever disappointment this may prove to the expectation of many, I have the conscious

reflection of having acted with the strictest integrity equally rejecting every proposition both of his foes and his friends that I could not reconcile to justice I have taken every measure, by proclamation protection and personal access to encourage evidences against him and have given many valuable hours and holidays of my time to the multiplied but indefinite accounts and suggestions of Nundcomar I presided in every examination one only day excepted and was myself the examiner and interpreter in each The proceedings will show with what wretched materials I was furnished

Huzzoosymul in whom I was also referred for information upon the subject of the monopoly of grain after much timid hesitation declared he could give me none He is as upright and conscientious a man as any I know but he was either deceived by the clamours of the multitude, or he feared to obtain the hated character of an informer if he revealed what he knew

Mahommed Reza Cawn has produced the attestations of above 300 persons mostly of credit in vindication of his conduct during the famine His adversary has produced a similar paper of attestations against him signed indeed by fewer names and those little known Neither merit the smallest consideration No honest man in this country would have set his hand to the latter though he believed it to be true Few would have had the heart to refuse signing the former although he believed it to be false We have at length finished the regulation of our military expenses and almost completed that of the civil The reduction in both will be great provided we are allowed a fair and uninterrupted progress in establishing and confirming that part of it which requires time to accomplish that is provided we have no new systems to form, no supernumerary servants to maintain nor the extravagant wants of China Fort St George Bombay and Balambangan to supply by an accumulation of our bonded debt A great saving will be immediately made The computed reduction of the civil expenses makes a difference

of twenty-five lacs, and in the military forty. But something there will run out of the former, and if we can save twenty in the latter I shall consider it as great economy. Hitherto nothing appears in our books which can do me credit as an economist, but for this many causes are to be assigned. I have been paying the arrears of former Governments. Their excesses in the collections have occasioned heavy losses in my time. The enormous and unchecked accumulation in every article of expense took its rise before I came to the Government, and so universal was the evil, and so ingenious were the people in the practice of it, that though many useful regulations have been made, they have no sooner stopped the channel of one excess than it has broken out in some other. They are now all closed, and I will answer for the effect.

I forgot to add to the inheritance left me by my predecessors a debt fluctuating between a crore and a crore and a half of rupees, the interest of which formed an article of ten lacs a year in our disbursements.

Many deductions were made by authority from home from the revenue, which have since produced a proportional increase in others, as in the customs, which amount for the last ten months, since the commencement of the new plan, to 10, 12,893 rupees.

The following abstract of the number of ships which have entered this port in the last four years will likewise show the improved state of the commerce of this country, to whatever cause it may be owing —

	Vessels	Tons
In the year 1770 arrived in the river	88, in all	22,475
In the year 1771	101, „	24,140
In the year 1772	119 „	26,184
In the year 1773	161 „	37,187
	<hr/> 469	<hr/> 109,986

It is not easy to prove that the measures of Government have caused this improvement in our commerce, but this

Improvement is a proof that our measures have not lessened the trade of the country

I have a pride in mentioning as one of the first and most capital savings which I can truly claim as my own the stipulation made with the Vizier for the whole estimated expense of the forces employed for his service nor have I less satisfaction in the reduction of the Nabob's stipend, in the suspension of the King's tribute, and in the treaty money for Cora and Allahabad to which I might add the money which would have been laid out in maintaining these provinces had we not parted with them

You have been already informed of the publication which was issued in May or June last forbidding the use of force in engaging the service of the weavers whether for the Company's investment or the business of private merchants It has been attended with no ill effect and I fear has not been well enforced There is such a spirit of despotism and servitude rooted in the dispositions of the people of Bengal that it is the most difficult point that can be imagined to check the one or prevail on the meaner orders of the people to accept of their freedom

Our Cooch Bahar expedition has I hope terminated in an advantageous and creditable manner The Booteas have solicited peace offering to give up the whole open country requiring only the possession of the woods and low lands lying at the foot of the mountains without which they cannot subsist and the liberty of trading duty free as formerly to Rungpore as soon as the peace should be concluded Their proposals were received about three days ago and orders were immediately returned to Mr Purling to accept them We shall have acquired a rich and valuable country and I believe there is little hazard of our meeting with more trouble from the Booteas, who have afforded many instances of a character much more sincere liberal and polite than they were thought to possess till we quarrelled with them

The Seniassies threatened us with the same disturbances at the beginning of this year as we experienced from them the

last But by being early provided to oppose them, and one or two severe checks which they received in their first attempts we have kept the country clear of them A party of horse which we employed in pursuit of them has chiefly contributed to intimidate these ravagers, who seem to pay little regard to our sepoys, having so much the advantage of them in speed, on which they entirely rely for their safety It is my intention to proceed more effectually against them by expelling them from their fixed residences which they have established in the north-eastern quarter of the province, and by making severe examples of the zemindars who have afforded them protection or assistance

The first brigade has marched into the province of Oude on the requisition of the Vizier, for the declared purpose of invading the country of the Rohillas on the conditions before stipulated with him but I believe it will remain inactive as a guard to his province while he is engaged in other designs, it being too late to execute the Rohilla project The brigade will gain in its discipline by keeping the field, and its expenses will be saved, at least the greater part of them, by the stipulated payment which he is to make for it of 2,10,000 rupees As to the Vizier himself, he is busy in adding the Dooab, or the country lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and lately occupied by the Mahrattas, to his dominions He has been successful, having met with no enemy to oppose him I have appointed for my agent at his court Mr Nathaniel Middleton, a young man of a fine understanding, and of a disposition perfectly suited to the employment

The Mahrattas are in a state of the greatest distraction A confederacy is openly formed against Ragonaut Row, their Peshwa, or head, by the majority of the ministers and chiefs of that empire headed by Shawbajee Boosla, the chief of Berar They have seized the widow of the late Peshwa, Narain Row, who was murdered to make way for the elevation of Ragonaut Row, intending to set up the child of which



she is big if he proves a boy as no doubt he will to be their head Ragonaut was before this event so far advanced towards the Carnatic, as to alarm the gentlemen of Fort St George with the apprehension of an invasion They had accordingly appointed a considerable force to take the field near the borders of Carnatic but I suppose contrary to the inclination of the Nabob who has declared himself unable to pay the expense of it and this was the cause of their applying to us for money They are however in no danger this year nor ever if my suspicions are well founded while Mohamud All lives. While I am upon this subject I must add that the brothers of Jannoojee are also at variance about the succession to his Government Shawbajee, the eldest, is at the head of the confederacy against Ragonaut and his brother Mûda Jee with Ragonaut. A Vakeel from the former is now at Calcutta.

These distractions in the Mahratta State afford us a certainty of quiet in all the Company's dominions for this season at least, and I cannot help lamenting that we want a combination of the vast powers possessed by the Company to derive some advantages from these troubles

We have had great disputes with the French on occasions too frivolous to report, but founded on an opposition of principles on points of the greatest importance They assert their right to a total independency on this Government and to include in the same freedom all their dependants, that is whom they please They pretend to a right to set up factories wherever they choose and to exercise an uncontrolled authority over the weavers and others to whose services they have any claim disclaiming the authority of the established courts of justice We have desired them to be quiet and promised to avoid on our part as much as lay in us, to touch upon these points in dispute till they could be decided by superior authority in Europe I wish they were decided for their pretensions are unreasonable and distressing and their manner of asserting them very provoking

[ It was with the view, if possible, of averting the evils that attend the introduction of a new Code into an old country that the following letter to the Lord Chief Justice Mansfield was written, and the treatise spoken of so highly is Halhed's Digest of Hindu Law ]

*Fort William, 21st March 1774*

MY LORD — I feel a very sensible regret that I have not endeavoured to improve the opportunities which I possessed by an early introduction to your Lordship's acquaintance of acquiring a better right to the freedom which I now assume in this address. The great veneration which I have ever entertained for your Lordship's character, and the unimportant sphere in which, till lately, it has been my lot to act, were sufficient checks to restrain me from such an attempt, however my wishes might have impelled to it.

I know not whether you will admit the subject of this letter to merit your attention by its importance. My only motive for introducing it to your Lordship is, that I believe it to be of that importance, as it regards the rights of a great nation in the most essential point of civil liberty, the preservation of its own laws, a subject, of which I know no person equally able to judge, or from whom I could hope for a more ready or effectual support of any proposition concerning it.

Among the various plans which have been lately formed for the improvement of the British interests in the provinces of Bengal, the necessity of establishing a new form of judicature, and giving laws to a people who were supposed to be governed by no other principle of justice than the arbitrary wills, or uninstructed judgments, of their temporary rulers, has been frequently suggested, and this opinion I fear has obtained the greater strength from some publications of considerable merit in which it is too positively asserted that written laws are totally

unknown to the Hindons, or original inhabitants of Hindostan. From whatever cause this notion has proceeded nothing can be more foreign from truth. They have been in possession of laws which have continued unchanged from the remotest antiquity. The professors of these laws who are spread over the whole empire of Hindostan speak the same language which is unknown to the rest of the people and receive public endowments and benefactions from every state and people besides a degree of personal respect amounting almost to idolatry in return for the benefits which are supposed derived from their studies. The consequence of these professors has suffered little diminution from the introduction of the Mahomedan government which has generally left their privileges untouched and suffered the people to remain in quiet possession of the institutes which time and religion had rendered familiar to their understandings and sacred to their affections. I presume my Lord if this assertion can be proved you will not deem it necessary that I should urge any argument in defence of their right to possess those benefits under a British and Christian administration which the bigotry of the Mahomedan government has never denied them. It would be a grievance to deprive the people of the protection of their own laws but it would be a wanton tyranny to require their obedience to others of which they are wholly ignorant and of which they have no possible means of acquiring a knowledge. I cannot offer a better proof of what I have before affirmed than by presenting you with a specimen of the laws themselves which it will be necessary to preface with the following brief history of the manner in which it came into my hands.

A short time after my appointment to the government of this presidency the company were pleased to direct the administration here to take possession of the Dewanny or territorial government of these provinces in their name without using any longer the intervention of an officer of the ancient Mogul government under the title of their nalb or deputy and gave them full powers to constitute such regulations for the collection



the best authority which could be obtained and for that purpose ten of the most learned Pundits were invited to Calcutta from different parts of the province who cheerfully undertook this work have incessantly laboured in the prosecution of it and have already as they assure me completed it all but the revisal and correction of it

This code they have written in their own language the Shanscrit. A translation of it is begun under the inspection of one of their body into the Persian language and from that into English. The two first chapters I have now the honour to present to your Lordship with this as a proof that the inhabitants of this land are not in the savage state in which they have been unfairly represented and as a specimen of the principles which constitute the rights of property among them

Although the second chapter has been translated with a despatch that has not allowed time for rendering it quite so correct as I could wish to offer it to your Lordship's view yet I can venture to vouch for the fidelity with which it is generally executed such parts of it as I have compared with the Persian copy having been found literally exact.

Your Lordship will find a great mixture of the superstitions of their religion in this composition. Many passages in the first chapter are not to be reconciled to any rule known to us but may be supposed to be perfectly consonant to *their own maxims* as your Lordship will perceive that they have been scrupulously exact in marking such cases as have received a different decision in the different originals from which this abstract is selected.

Upon the merit of the work itself I will not presume to offer an opinion. I think it necessary to obviate any misconception which you may entertain from the similitude in the arrangement and style to our own productions by saying that I am assured they are close and genuine transcripts from the original

With respect to the Mohomedan law, which is the guide at least of one-fourth of the natives of this province, your Lordship need not be told that this is as comprehensive, and as well defined, as that of most states of Europe, having been formed at a time in which the Arabians were in possession of all the real learning which existed in the western parts of this continent. The book which bears the greatest authority among them in India is a digest formed by the command of the Emperor Aurangzebe, and consists of four large folio volumes which are equal to near twelve of ours.

I have only to add that the design of this letter is to give your Lordship a fair representation of a fact of which the world has been misinformed, to the great injury of this country, and to prevent the ill effects which such an error may produce in a public attempt to deprive it of the most sacred and valuable of its rights. Even the most injudicious or most fanciful customs which ignorance or superstition may have introduced among them, are perhaps preferable to any which could be substituted in their room. They are interwoven with their religion, and are therefore revered as of the highest authority. They are the conditions on which they hold their place in society, they think them equitable, and therefore it is no hardship to exact their obedience to them. I am persuaded they would consider the attempt to free them from the effect of such a power as a severe hardship. But I find myself exceeding the bounds which my deference for your Lordship's great wisdom had prescribed, and therefore quit the subject.

I know the value of your Lordship's time, and reluctantly lay claim to so great a share of it as may be required for the perusal of this letter. I assure myself that you will approve my intention.

My only apprehension is, that it may arrive too late to produce the effect which I hope to obtain from it. I would flatter myself that the work which it introduces may be of use in your Lordship's hands towards the legal accomplishment of a

new system which shall found the authority of the British government in Bengal on its ancient laws and serve to point out the way to rule this people with ease and moderation according to their own ideas manners and prejudices But although I should be disappointed in this expectation I still please myself with the persuasion that your Lordship will receive it with satisfaction as an object of literary curiosity whatever claim it may have to your attention from its intrinsic merit as it contains the genuine sentiments of a remote and ancient people at a period of time in which it was impossible for them to have had the smallest connexion or communication with the inhabitants of Europe on a subject in which all mankind have a common interest and is I believe the first production of the kind hitherto made known amongst us —

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TO THE RIGHT HON'BLE LORD NORTH

*Fort William, 2nd April 1775*

MY LORD —The assurance which your Lordship has been so obliging as to make me, that if there was anything in the present system and arrangement which I might wish to have altered, you would be favourably disposed to attend to it, has long prompted me to offer to your Lordship my thoughts upon the general management of the affairs of this country. The subject is difficult and extensive and requires both a vacant and composed mind to treat it properly. This has seldom been, nor is at this time the state of mine, yet I cannot suffer the last despatches of this season to depart without communicating my opinion of such additional regulations or alterations in those already made as may be immediately wanting for rendering more complete the system which your Lordship has already so happily planned.

One of the great inconveniences to which the administration of this Government has been till lately subjected is the want of a sufficient distinction between the departments of it. While the affairs of the Company were merely commercial, it was useful and even necessary that their servants should make themselves acquainted with every branch of the service. Their frequent removals from one office to another were well calculated for this purpose, and the prospect of rising in succession to the first and most lucrative employments, served to excite their industry, and was of some advantage to them in establishing their private credit which they confirmed in the intermediate stations, especially if they appeared to have distinguished themselves in these, the same qualifications being required for their own mercantile concerns as for those of their employers. But the vast change which has since taken place in the affairs of the Company, especially since the acquisition,



of the Dewanny required the application of principles diametrically opposite to the former practice for conducting them. The various and multiplied objects which have since occupied the attention of this Government were too valuable to be delegated entirely to the charge of others and too weighty for its immediate superintendency. The right which the former rule of the service gave to every person to succeed to vacant offices by seniority or rotation occasioned continual changes in every office and much embarrassment in the accounts.

The offices which required great labour and yielded few emoluments were ill supplied those who were employed in them either claiming as a recompense of their services which was never refused after a space of two or at most three years, the succession to places of greater profit. This was chiefly the case with the offices of the accountants and secretaries the salaries of which were small with scanty or no emoluments and even those disproportioned to others of the like amount enjoyed in the country by reason of the difference in all articles of expenses in town. Added to a spirit of dissipation occasioned by these frequent changes the business of the service often suffered by the loss of persons removed from employments for which their talents were peculiarly adapted and as much by the appointment of others to employments for which they were unfit. Both inconveniences have sometimes been experienced in the transfer of the same person from one office to another and it requires little argument to show the absurdity of promoting a man who had distinguished himself by his knowledge of the investment or his assiduity in the arrangement and distribution of stores to the Government of the country and the administration of justice. Succession by the routine of the Company's list particularly to the Council was likewise attended with great evils. It brought the Council too near on a level with the inferior branches of the service and proved an encouragement to oppression as few would venture to complain against men destined to hold the rod of power and even the members of the Council themselves might

not always be exempt from the influence of the same consideration or from that of a personal connexion when appealed to as judges in such grievances

These inconveniences have been in part removed by the mode established by Parliament for supplying the vacancies of the Supreme Council and by the institution of the Board of Trade, and the necessity for completing the other separations is become stronger by both

I would recommend that the heads of offices should remain fixed, and the views of the assistants in each confined to promotion in their own departments. Some exceptions to this rule may occur, especially in the offices of the secretaries and Persian translators, on account of the improvements acquired in both, which qualify the possessors of them for the most difficult and important trusts in the service

2 There is one strong objection to this restriction namely, that it would prove a great discouragement to such of the servants as were allotted to the laborious and least profitable duties of the service, while the places of emolument were wholly engrossed by others perhaps not more deserving. The only means which occur to me for the removal of this objection are easier in speculation than practice. It is to proportion the emoluments of every office to the labour, trust, and importance of the duties dependant on it. This can hardly be effected by fixed salaries. There is a difference in the value of money between this country and England, arising partly from the difference of expense, and more from the necessity which every man being but a so-journer in it is under of providing a competence against the time of his return to his own country, which will be for ever an insuperable obstacle to the appointment of salaries really adequate to the offices for which they are assigned, which would not appear enormous at home, besides that fixed salaries are no incitement to diligence, but are received as of course, and the services due for them reluctantly performed, and regarded ,

as a dead and unprofitable labour. It may appear inconsistent that I should object to large salaries and yet propose emoluments which in a less public way should yield an equal amount but this I venture to recommend and trust to your Lordship's wisdom for approving it. Exclusive of moderate salaries the remainder of their allowances might be made up by a commission charged to the Company or Government, or by moderate fees received according to stated tables from individuals as the nature of the business performed might render the application of either mode most practicable or most eligible. The commission would less sensibly appear in the public accounts and the fees would be cheerfully paid by individuals as they would in most cases prove the means of accelerating the despatch of business the delays of which are often in the best regulated offices an intolerable oppression. I am obliged to content myself in this place with laying down the general rule. The specification of it would take up more of my time than I can now bestow and of your Lordship's than I could with decency claim. I will only add that I think it practicable and capable of such restrictions and subsidiary regulations as might in most instances obviate any inconvenience arising from it. It would undoubtedly prove the greatest spur to industry and it would be productive of this further advantage that it would remove the pretext for prohibited or hurtful perquisites which in spite of the wisest institutions or the most absolute prohibitions, will exist, and be considered as tacitly allowed if the authorized emoluments are inadequate to the ordinary rates of expense.

3 The management of the revenues is an object of so much magnitude and importance that it would be imprudent to offer anything respecting it as a perfect plan drawn up precipitately and without discussion or indeed without knowing under what authority they will continue to be collected after the expiration of the present Act but in pursuance of the idea with which I set out I will venture to declare to your Lordship that in my opinion under the present system there

cannot be a mode better calculated to improve the revenue of the province than that of its superintendency by provincial council I would rather wish their powers enlarged, and am of opinion that an intermediate board of control might be successfully established at the capital, which should audit all accounts and correspond with the Provincial Councils, referring only cases of succession to vacant zemindaries, applications for the remission or suspension of rents, general ordinances, the dismissal of old farmers, the settlements with new, for decision or approbation, to the Supreme Council This board should meet every day, which would not only promote exceedingly the despatch of business which is the life of the collections, and preserve an uniformity in the management of the collections, but it would, by lessening the weight of affairs which are, on the present footing, an intolerable burthen on the Superior Council, enable them to give more attention to matters of greater and more general import, and render the control more effectual as it would be less interrupted

4 The commercial branch having been so materially separated from the other departments, I judge it will be proper to make this separation still more complete The details of commerce are not fit objects of attention to the supreme administration of a state, neither can the members who compose it be supposed to be equal judges of the justness or propriety of these transactions with those whose sole business it is to attend to and understand them Besides, in our constitution, as it now stands, there are two authorities in the same branch each aspiring at the exercise, but endeavouring to throw the responsibility on the other which must unavoidably occasion delays and a want of vigour in their proceedings A clear illustration of this appears in the proceedings respecting the freighting of the Anson and Ashburnham The conditions of the charter parties, and the examination of the bottoms of these ships, were hardly objects of consideration at the general Board, yet they occupied a large portion of their

time and attention. It appears also very evidently that the Board of Trade avoided giving their opinion on many points and in some absolutely declined it because they did not choose to take upon them the responsibility of advice without the power of execution. I therefore think that great benefit would accrue on all sides were that department to be enlarged so as to include every duty appertaining to the investment or in any shape connected with the commercial interest of the Company and every office depending upon either. The execution in all that branch will then be theirs and the responsibility theirs and the Government will only preserve that general control over them which is necessary in the administration of affairs.

It seems also highly necessary that the servants under that department should be totally dependant on the Board of Trade. Indeed I conceive that the words of the Company's instructions imply as much but it has not been so understood by others. I foresee great confusion and the seeds of anarchy and disobedience existing in their constitution if it is allowed to remain on the present footing. It appears to me that the Company's servants in that line should be fixed to that only with a positive interdiction of their removal to any other and that they should be left entirely to the control of their own Board in the same manner as under the former system.

5 Your Lordship will doubtless be fully advised from the proper channels of the proceedings of the Court of Judicature. Its effects will naturally be represented by the public as they are felt by some as hurtful and by others as of utility. All new institutions are liable to defect and even the most perfect to ill consequences in their first operation but I may venture to say this has been generally received as tending to the happiness and benefit of British subject and carrying the most gracious intention to the inhabitants of Bengal. The protection which it affords to the weak against oppression has already been virtually felt by many who are even unsuspecting of the source from which they derive so inestimable a bless-

ing But it has also proved in some cases the unavoidable cause of distress, by the total suppression of the former courts of justice within the city of Calcutta, which is become already very considerable from the number and wealth of its inhabitants, and by the weakness of the civil courts established in the other parts of the provinces, and acting under a doubtful authority

It appears to me defective only in the inadequacy of its natural powers to the extent of its jurisdiction I much fear that it will be found scarce possible in practice to make the distinction intended by the Act, and Charter, between such persons as are employed in the service of the Company, or of the British subjects, and other native inhabitants The mutual concerns and connexions of two classes so formed of the same people will bring almost every man of property within the sphere of the Supreme Court, independently of the necessity to which it seems unavoidably liable of exercising a temporary authority, even over those not subject to it by the Act for the purpose of ascertaining their exemption from it The geographical measurement of the provinces of Bengal exceeds, perhaps, that of great Britain, and the number of litigible disputes is at least as great Judge then, my Lord, how incompetent a single court, however composed, must be for the effectual distribution of justice to such a nation

6 I feel the weakness of my own experience when I attempt to offer a remedy for this defect, but some is surely necessary, and I should hope that the Dewanny Courts, that is, the courts subsisting by immemorial usage for the determination of litigated suits between the natives, might subsist by delegated powers from the Supreme Court and dependent on it Neither can I propose any alteration in the Criminal Courts, because, as they are constituted, I think them better calculated for the speedy correction of offences in the natives, than any other species of judicature which could be substituted in their room These at present, hold

their powers from the Nabob and are considered as a branch of the Nizamut, but your Lordship will easily conceive that his name is but an ostensible sanction as it would be dangerous to trust the real power in the hands of a mere Pageant who has no interest in the due exercise of it.

7 I venture to submit it to your Lordship's consideration whether it might not be attended with some good effects in establishing a good understanding between the members of the Supreme Court and of the Council and in enabling the former the better to comprehend the nature and utility of many propositions to be passed into laws for the good order and benefit of the country to the knowledge of which they have not any present means of access, but in which their concurrence is equally necessary whenever such laws shall be proposed and also for guarding the acts of the Board from any legal error that the chief justice should have a fixed or occasional seat at the Council Board Of the propriety or consequence of this proposition in other respects I am not a judge

8 Many alterations appear to me necessary both with respect to the management of political affairs here and the correspondence at home Those subjects not being of a local nature it would be presumption in me to propose anything concerning them to your Lordship's superior judgment. Thus much only it may be permitted me to observe that the political interests of this country have suffered by nothing so much as by the fluctuation and uncertainty continually attending them as well from variable orders from home, as from indecision here

9 The last subject on which I wish to engage your Lordship's attention although of equal if not superior importance to any of the preceding I find my own feelings too much interested in, to treat it with that freedom which it deserves although perhaps there never was a time in which I could with less hazard of incurring the imputation of seeking

to add to my own consequence, impart my own sentiments upon it I shall therefore be very brief upon it The subject which I allude to is the definition of the powers of the Governor-General as distinguished from the Board at large In whatever manner it may be judged expedient to determine this point, it is of the utmost consequence that some clear and precise line be drawn, and applicable to all possible cases, to prevent disputes which will otherwise continually arise upon them The only danger to which any extraordinary degree of power granted to the Governor can be liable, depends on the choice of the man appointed to so delicate a trust The choice properly made, your Lordship will find, and the event will justify my assertion, that some kind of separate and independent authority must be delegated to him to enable him to discharge the executive duties of Government, and to preserve a consistency in its measures The length of time which will be required for appeals to England, before their effects can be received, which will oftener exceed than fall short of two years, may produce so many variations in the state of affairs which existed at the time in which they were made, as to render the application of no effect, and such is the natural envy attendant on the first office of Government, though but ostensibly superior to the rest, that in a body so small as that of the present Council, a majority will be almost always formed against him, unless, by descending to the arts of intrigue, which will be eventually productive of evils not much less pernicious than those of total anarchy, he can find means to maintain an unsteady and uncertain supremacy

I forbear, my Lord, to enter into a detail of this subject, or propose the modifications of it, but beg leave to refer Your Lordship (if you shall think what I have already said deserving your further attention) to a letter written by me to the Court of Directors, and dated the 11th of November 1773, in which my sentiments will appear more at large, and, though applied to a former constitution of this Government, will be found, if just,



equally applicable to the present. I have some reason to believe that the letter which I allude to will have undergone Your Lordship's inspection long before this can reach your hands which induces me rather to refer You. Lordship to it, than to take up more of your time by an unnecessary repetition

If the general rules which I have recommended should receive the sanction of Your Lordship's approval it is my intention at some future time to submit to Your Lordship a practical system formed on these principles for the government of these provinces. In the meantime, I hope Your Lordship will judge favourably of this imperfect attempt, which I have prematurely made in pure respect to Your Lordship's commands

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TO MAJOR SCOTT,

*Fort William, Oct 1783*

The Commissioners for regulating the price and distribution of grain were sworn in this day. I will send you a copy of the plan I am confident of its effect. It had the instant effect of opening the *Golas* in Calcutta, where an artificial want had already prevailed. I shall see their daily proceedings, and you may swear in my name that the famine of India shall not invade the provinces of our dominion. I hope it will draw the emigrants of other countries into our own, and be the means of establishing a scheme which I have laboured to bring to pass these eleven years, a chain of granaries on the banks of the two great rivers, built of solid masonry, to be filled in times of superabundance, which always hurts our revenue, with a provision of three months and closed. I have begun such a provision in the fort, where we have bottled up 70,000 maunds, and I do not intend to uncork it till it has stood twenty years. The plan is simple. It consists of an arched building of six feet in thickness of an indefinite length, with partitions, an opening left over each, which, when the partitions are filled, is closed with masonry, so that the external air is totally excluded. I have made a fair trial of the design, and found it to answer, in so much that I am certain the grain would remain in a sound state for fifty years so deposited. Grain purchased when it is in such plenty that the raiats want a sale for it will aid the revenue. In effect it will cost nothing but the first cost of the buildings

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## VIII

### PITT'S INDIA ACT AND THE AMENDING ACT OF 1786

Pitt's bill of 1784, the explanatory Act of 1786 and such acts as have been subsequently passed collectively form the basis of the present constitution of our Indian Government

Mr Pitt's bill of 1784 appointed six privy counsellors to be Commissioners for the affairs of India with one of the Secretaries of State for the time being for president These Commissioners who were appointed by His Majesty and removeable at his pleasure were vested with a control and superintendence over all Civil Military and Revenue affairs of the Company

The Commissioners were obliged to return the copies of papers which they should receive from the Court of Directors with their approbation or to state at large their reasons for disapproving of them and their despatches, so approved or amended were to be sent to India, unless the Commissioners should attend to any representations of the Court of Directors respecting further alterations in them \*

In all cases of secrecy and particularly such as related to war or peace with the native powers of India, the Commissioners could send their orders to the Local Government of India through a secret Committee of the Court of Directors which Committee could, in this case only be considered as the vehicle of such instructions

The Chief Government of India was by this Act to consist of a Governor General and three counsellors and the Com

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If the Commissioners forwarded any orders to the Court of Directors on points not relating to the Civil or Military Government, or to the revenue of the territorial possessions of the Company the Directors might appeal to the King and Council.

mander-in-Chief of the Forces for the time being had a voice and precedence next after the Governor-General, but was not to succeed, in the event of a vacancy, unless by special appointment of the directors

The constitution of the Government of the subordinate Presidencies of Madras and Bombay was made the same as Bengal, and at both, the Governor had, like the Governor-General, a casting vote in Council.

These settlements were by this Act placed completely under the rule of the Governor-General in Council, on all points connected with negotiations with the country powers, peace or war, and the application of their Revenues and forces

The King had a right, by this Act, to recall the Governor-General, or any officer of the Company from India and if the Court of Directors did not, within two months, nominate some person to a vacancy which had occurred in any of the principal stations to which it was their duty to appoint, the crown became possessed of the right to make such nomination.

It was declared by this Act that, as the pursuit of schemes of conquest was repugnant to the wish, to the honour and the policy of the British nation, it was not lawful for the Governor-General in Council of Fort William, without the express authority and concord of the Court of Directors, or of the secret Committee, either to declare or commence hostilities, or to enter into any treaty for making war against any of the Native Princes or States of India, or any treaty guaranteeing the dominions of such Princes or States, except when hostilities should have been commenced, or preparations actually made for the attack of the British nation in India, or of some of the States and Princes whose dominions it shall be engaged by subsisting treaties to defend

The subordinate presidencies were prohibited by this Act from making war or peace without orders from Fort William, the Court of Directors or the secret Committee, except in cases of sudden emergency or imminent danger, when it would be

ruinous or unsafe to postpone such hostilities or treaty. The supreme Government had the power given them of suspending any of the Governors of the subordinate settlements who should disobey their orders.

A new and extraordinary Court was constituted by this Act for the trial of Indian delinquents. It was formed of a specified number of members of the House of lords and House of commons and had great powers given to it, for the purpose of bringing to justice persons whom (as was stated) common courts could not reach. But it is needless to dwell upon this part of the bill as in consequence of representations from the British subjects in India it was completely new modelled and changed.

An Act was passed in 1786 by which several parts of the Act of 1784 were explained and amended. The power of appointing a Civil Servant of twelve years standing on the occurrence of a vacancy to Councils, was given to the local Governments of India.

The appointment of a Commander in Chief to Councils was made an act of option not of necessity. The directors were vested with the power of appointing the Commander in Chief in India Governor General &c of making the Commander in Chief at Madras and Bombay president of those settlements and what was more important the Governor General and the Governors of Madras and Bombay were vested by this Act with a discretionary right of acting in extraordinary cases without the concurrence of their Councils being held solely and personally responsible for any consequences which might ensue from the measures adopted under such circumstances.

This great power was given to such Governor General or Governors only as were specifically appointed to those stations, and did not devolve to their casual successors, and it did not extend to cases of a judicial nature or to the alteration

of any established regulations for the Civil Government of the British settlements in India \*

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\* In 1797 an Act was passed, by which courts were established at Madras and Bombay, with powers nearly similar to those which had been before given to the supreme court of judicature at Bengal. These courts were made altogether independent of the Company's Governments in India, but they were not competent to try informations against the Governor or Council, unless in cases of felony or treason. The regulations of these courts were in some respects altered by an Act passed in 1800, when a chief Judge, and two puisne Judges, were appointed to the court of judicature at Madras.

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## IX.

## PERMANENT SETTLEMENT OF LAND IN BENGAL.

## A.

RIGHT HON. HENRY DUKINS TO THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

[Private.] Received March 2, 1793.

MY DEAR LORD

London Sept. 17 1792

In your letter you allude to the important question of the perpetuity of the Decennial Settlement and I have the very great satisfaction to inform you that the same conveyance which carries this carries out an approbation and confirmation of your sentiments on that subject. It has been longer delayed than I expected but the delay was unavoidable. Knowing that the Directors would not be induced to take it up so as to consider it with any degree of attention and knowing that some of the most leading ones among them held an opinion different both from your Lordship and me on the question of perpetuity and feeling that there was much respect due to the opinion and authority of Mr Shore I thought it indispensably necessary both that the measure must originate with the Board of Control and likewise that I should induce Mr Pitt to become my partner in the final consideration of so important and controverted a measure. He accordingly agreed to shut himself up with me for ten days at Wimbledon and attend to that business only. Charles Grant staid with us a great part of the time. After a most minute and attentive consideration of the whole subject I had the satisfaction to find Mr Pitt entirely of the same opinion with us. We therefore settled a despatch upon the ideas we had formed and sent it down to the Court of Directors. What I expected happened the subject was too large for the consideration of the Directors in general and the few who knew anything concerning it, understanding from me that Mr Pitt and I were

decided in our opinions, thought it best to acquiesce, so that they came to a resolution to adopt entirely the despatch as transmitted by me

The subject I have just wrote upon, naturally leads me to advert to what your Lordship has so often urged me upon—the finding a proper successor to you I can assure your Lordship, you have never imposed any task upon me that I have found more difficult to accomplish The truth is, that I had almost despaired of it, and it is not a month since I had determined to write to you entreating you to remain a few months more, and promising that, if we did not find a successor in the course of the winter to our mind, I would come out to India myself, the moment the charter of the East India Company should be settled, sooner than which time it was impossible for me to leave this country I trust, however, that what we have now resolved upon, will under all circumstances, meet with your approbation In considering the proceedings of your Government on the Decennial Settlement, although Mr Shore differed from you on the question of perpetuity, it was impossible to consider the whole of that subject without admiring his talents, industry, and candour Mr Pitt and I therefore agreed to recommend him to the Court of Directors as provisional successor to you He had some difficulties on account of domestic circumstances—Mrs Shore, to whom he is much attached, not being in a condition to attend him immediately He is willing either to remain for a few years at the head of the Government, or to become second in Council, if we think it right, upon further inquiry, to send out any other person from this country, or to come home again, if that suits our arrangement best We have got great credit by recommending him for this appointment, and from the high opinion you entertain of him, I trust you will be satisfied with it

I wrote to the King, who is at Weymouth, giving him my reasons for adopting this measure, and I send you a copy of the letter he wrote in answer to mine He is in perfect health,



and delighted beyond description with all the recent events of India I know not which he admires most, your conduct of the war or the peace by which you have concluded it The King wishes Abercrombie to succeed you as Commander in Chief with a seat in the Supreme Council I have recommended it and I suppose the Directors will do it next Wednesday

I suppose we shall see Medows very soon His conduct to you has been highly honourable and is everywhere felt as such you need be under no apprehension of his being well received at St James's The King feels on all that subject exactly as you wish He had purposely reserved for him and Abercrombie two Red Ribbons that they might be bestowed upon them at the end of the war in India and that mark of the Kings approbation of their services was announced in the Gazette immediately after the receipt of your letter communicating the termination of hostilities

In conferring the Marquisate on your Lordship we went on your brother the Bishops authority both as to the thing itself and not changing the title of *Cornwallis* I trust your Lordship will give me full credit when I assure you that amongst many other circumstances of satisfaction which both on public and private grounds I derived from the happy termination of the war none has given me more sincere pleasure than the very high and exalted situation in which your Lordship stands in the public opinion and the love that is borne to you by every man in the kingdom whose opinion you can have any value for

I propose the beginning of next month to go to Scotland and be idle for six weeks or two months and upon my return I shall set immediately to work with the arrangement of the new Charter I have already pretty much formed my opinions and I trust we shall carry through all that business with a high hand and I should hope without any serious dispute with the Court of Directors. Before I go to Scotland

I shall explain to Mr Shore all my ideas, that he may communicate them to you

I remain, &c ,

HENRY DUNDAS

THE KING TO THE RIGHT HON HENRY DUNDAS

[Holograph ]

*Weymouth, Sept 5, 1792. 4 p m*

Unless a very proper man of distinction could have been (found) to be Governor-General at Bengal, no one could have been so properly thought of as Mr Shore, who will certainly more explicitly follow the Civil plan Lord Cornwallis has laid down than any other person , I trust at the same time a seat at the Supreme Council will be conferred on M-Gen Abercrombie, and the Commission of Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in the East Indies , and a fit person entrusted with the command of the Forces in the Carnatic

G R

B

*Governor-General's Minute, 18th September 1789*

The great ability displayed in Mr Shore's Minute, which introduced the propositions for the settlement , the uncommon knowledge which he has manifested of every part of the revenue system of this country , the liberality and fairness of his arguments, and clearness of his style , give me an opportunity, which my personal esteem and regard for him, and the obligation I owe him as a public man, for his powerful assistance in every branch of the business of this Government, must ever render peculiarly gratifying to me, of recording my highest respect for his talents, my warmest sense of his public-spirited principles, which, in an impaired state of health, could alone have supported him in executing a work of such extraordinary labour , and lastly, my general approbation of the greatest part of his plan

I am confident, however, that Mr Shore, from his natural

candour as well as the public at large will readily admit that deeply interested as I must feel myself in the future prosperity of this country it would be unjustifiable in me to take any step of real importance upon the suggestion even of the most capable adviser without seriously weighing it in my own mind and endeavouring to reconcile the propriety of it to my own conviction )

Impressed with these sentiments I am called upon by a sense of indispensable duty to declare that I cannot bring myself to agree with Mr Shore in the alteration which he now proposes to make in the 2nd Resolution of leaving out the notification to the land holders that if the settlements shall be approved by the Court of Directors it will become permanent and no further alteration of the jumma take place at the expiration of the ten years

When the Court of Directors determined to retain in their own hands the right of confirming or annulling the settlement at the expiration of a given term they undoubtedly acted with becoming wisdom and caution

The power of making a perpetual and irrevocable settlement of a great empire without being subject to the revision of the controlling authority at home would in my opinion have been too great to delegate to any distant Government. I cannot however believe that they would have held out the flattering hopes of a *permanent* settlement which alone in my judgment, can make the country flourish and secure happiness to the body of inhabitants unless they had been predetermined to confirm the perpetuity if they found that their servants here had not failed in their duty or betrayed the important trust that had been reposed in them. Nothing I am persuaded but our expressing doubts and fears can make them hesitate and as I have a clear conviction in my own mind of the utility of the system I shall think it a duty I owe to them to my country and to humanity to recommend it most earnestly to the Court of Directors to lose no time in declaring

ing the permanency of the settlement, provided they discover no material objection or error , and not to postpone for ten years the commencement of the prosperity and solid improvement of the country

Mr Shore has most ably, and, in my opinion, most successfully, in his Minute delivered in June last, argued in favour of the rights of the zemindars to the property of the soil But if the value of permanency is to be withdrawn from the settlement now in agitation, of what avail will the power of his arguments be to the zemindars, for whose rights he has contended? they are now to have their property in farm for a lease of ten years, provided they will pay as good rent for it and this property is then to be again assessed, at whatever rent the Government of this country may, at that time, think proper to impose In any part of the world, where the value of property is known, would not such a concession of a right of property in the soil, be called a cruel mockery?

In a country where the landlord has a permanent property in the soil, it will be worth his while to encourage his tenants, who hold his farm in lease, to improve that property , at any rate, he' will make such an agreement with them, as will prevent then destroying it But when the lord of the soil himself, the rightful owner of the land, is only to become the farmer for a lease of ten years, and if he is then to be exposed to the demand of a new rent, which may perhaps be dictated by ignorance or rapacity, what hopes can there be,—I will not say of improvement but of preventing desolation , will it not be his interest during the early part of that term, to extract from the estate every possible advantage for himself , and if any future hopes of a permanent settlement are then held out, to exhibit his lands at the end of it in a state of ruin?

Although, however, I am not only of opinion that the zemindars have the best right, but from being persuaded that nothing could be so ruinous to the public interest, as that the land should be retained as the property of Government , I am

also convinced, that failing the claim of right of the zemindars it would be necessary for the public good to grant a right of property in the soil to them or to persons of other descriptions. I think it unnecessary to enter into any discussion of the grounds upon which their right appears to be founded.

It is the most effectual mode for promoting the general improvement of the country which I look upon as the important object for our present consideration.

I may safely assert that one third of the Company's territory in Hindostan is now a jungle inhabited only by wild beasts. Will a ten years lease induce any proprietor to clear away that jungle and encourage the ryots to come and cultivate his lands when at the end of that lease he must either submit to be taxed *ad libitum* for their newly cultivated lands or lose all hopes of deriving any benefit from his labour for which perhaps by that time he will hardly be repaid?

I must own that it is clear to my mind that a much more advantageous tenure will be necessary to incite the inhabitants of this country to make those exertions which can alone effect any substantial improvement.

The habit which the zemindars have fallen into of subsisting by annual expedients has originated not in any constitutional imperfection in the people themselves but in the fluctuating measures of Government and I cannot therefore admit, that a period of ten years will be considered by the generality of people, as a term nearly equal in estimate to perpetuity.

By the prudent land holders it will not whatever it may be by proprietors of a contrary description. It would be unwise therefore to deny the former the benefit of a permanent system because the mismanagement of the latter will not allow them to derive the same advantage from it.

It is for the interest of the State that the landed property should fall into the hands of the most frugal and thrifty class of people who will improve their lands and protect the ryots and thereby promote the general prosperity of the country.

If there are men who will not follow this line of conduct when an opportunity is afforded them, by the enactment of good laws, it surely is not inconsistent with justice, policy, or humanity, to say, that the sooner their bad management obliges them to part with their property to the more industrious, the better for the State

It is immaterial to Government what individual possesses the land, provided he cultivates it, protects the ryots, and pays the public revenue

The short-sighted policy of having recourse to annual expedients, can only be corrected by allowing those who adopt it, to suffer the consequences of it, leaving to them at the same time the power of obviating them, by pursuing the opposite line of conduct

Mr Shore has stated but two positive objections to the latter part of the 2nd Resolution —The first is, that if after the notification that the settlement is approved by the Court of Directors will be declared permanent, the Court of Directors should not declare the permanency, the confidence of the natives in general will be shaken, and that those who relied on the confirmation, will be disappointed, and conclude that it was meant to deceive them

I can only say, in answer to this objection, that I cannot believe any people to be so unreasonable as to accuse Government of a breach of faith, and an intention to deceive them, for not doing what Government in express terms assure them it is not in their power to promise to do, as it must depend upon the approbation of their superiors

The only effect of the notification will, in my opinion, be, to encourage the land-holder to offer—all that Government asks, or wishes for,—a fair rent, lest by endeavouring to withhold what he knows he ought in justice to pay, he should forget that greatest of all blessings, a real property, and to stimulate him to more exertion in his cultivation

But supposing even for a moment, that the declaration would be received in the sense apprehended and that the zemindars were to act under a conviction that it was well founded let us examine the nature of these acts and whether the consequences of them would be such as to shake the confidence of the natives or to operate otherwise in any respect but advantageously to themselves. The acts alluded to must of course be such as are calculated to promote the improvement of the country as the assisting the ryots with money the refraining from exactions and the foregoing small temporary advantages for future permanent profits such acts must ultimately redound to the benefit of the zemindars and ought to be performed by them were the settlement intended to be concluded for ten years only or even to be made annually.

But this provident conduct cannot be expected from them so long as they have any grounds for apprehending that their land when improved may be committed to the management of the officers of Government or made over to a farmer.

Should the zemindars, therefore misconstrue the meaning of the declaration and act in consequence of that misapprehension they would find themselves enriched by the error and this result instead of tending to shake their confidence in Government might teach them an useful lesson from which they would profit under any system of management. I shall further observe on this argument that it is founded on a supposition that when the zemindars are convinced that the demand of Government on their lands is fixed they will adopt measures for the improvement of them which they will not have recourse to so long as that demand is liable to occasional variation and consequently strongly points out the expediency of a permanent settlement and declaring to the land holders as soon as possible, that the conclusion of a permanent settlement with them is the object of the legislature in England as soon as it can be effected upon fair and equitable terms.

The second objection is, the doubt of its being expedient that the permanency should be declared

Mr Shore says, we cannot pronounce absolutely upon the success of our measures, without experience I must ask, what are these measures, on the success of which there can be no doubt? or, what is the experience that is wanting, and what, by delaying a permanent settlement for a few years, would probably be improved?

There is nothing new in this plan, except the great advantages which are given to the zemindars, talookdars, and ryots, on one side, and the additional security which the Company has against losses by balances from the value of the land, which is to be sold to make them good, being greatly increased on the other By what probable, I may even say possible means is such a plan to fail?

I understood the word permanency, to extend to the jumma only, and not to the details of the settlement, for many regulations will certainly be hereafter necessary, for the further security of the ryots in particular, and even of those talookdars, who, to my concern, must still remain in some degree of dependence on the zemindars, but these, can only be made by Government occasionally, as abuses occur, and I will venture to assert, that either now, or ten years hence, or at any given period, it is impossible for human wisdom and fore sight to form any plan that will not require such attention and regulation, and I must add, that if such a thing was possible, I do not believe that it will be easy to find a man more capable of doing it than Mr Shore

I cannot, however, admit that such regulations can in any degree, affect the rights which it is now proposed to confirm to the zemindars, for I never will allow, that in any country, Government can be said to invade the rights of a subject, when they only require, for the benefit of the State, that he shall accept of a reasonable equivalent for the surrender of a real



or supposed right, which in his hands is detrimental to the general interest of the public or when they prevent his committing cruel oppressions upon his neighbours, or upon his own dependents

The Court of Directors have given us a general idea of the amount of the land revenue from Bengal and Behar with which they will be satisfied, if we honestly and faithfully make a settlement equal and even beyond their expectations in point of revenue and at the same time calculated in its outlines to promote the prosperity happiness and wealth of their subjects what reason can we have to apprehend that they will not declare its permanency ?

From the constitution of our establishments in this country it almost amounts to an impossibility that at any period, the same Government the same Boards or the same Collectors should continue for near the space of ten years upon what grounds then are the Court of Directors to look for more knowledge and useful experience at the expiration of that term and under all contingencies that may be reasonably expected to occur ? I cannot avoid declaring my firmest conviction that if those provinces are let upon lease for that period only they will find at the end of it a ruined and impoverished country and that more difficulties will be experienced than even this Government have had to encounter

In regard to the 4th resolution respecting gunge bazar &c &c as Mr Shore has proposed that for the present they shall be placed under the management of the Collectors I will not at this time enter at large upon that question for I feel very sensible how important it is that the orders for the Behar settlement should be transmitted to the Collectors of that District without losing a minutes time unnecessarily and I shall soon have an opportunity of delivering my sentiments fully upon it when the Bengal settlement comes under our consideration

I must, however, observe, that of the six references which are proposed to be made to the Collectors, I cannot see the smallest use in any of them, except the last, which goes to the expediency of the measure .

As to the question of right, I cannot conceive that any Government in their senses would ever have delegated an authorized right to any of their subjects, to impose arbitrary taxes on the internal commerce of the country . It certainly has been an abuse that has crept in, either through the negligence of the Mogul Governors, who were careless and ignorant of all matters of trade , or, what is more probable, connivance of the Mussulmen Aumil, who tolerated the extortion of the zemindar, that he might again plunder him in his turn \*.

But be that as it may, the right has been too long established, or tolerated, to allow a just Government to take it away, without indemnifying the proprietor from any loss . And I never heard that, in the most free state, if an individual possessed a right that was incompatible with the public welfare, the legislature made any scruple of taking it from him provided they gave him a fair equivalent . The case of the late Duke of Athol, who, a few years ago, parted very unwillingly with the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, appears to me to be exactly in point

I agree with Mr Shore, that there would be a degree of absurdity in Government's taking into their own hands the gunges, &c , which are annexed to zemindary rights, and leaving the same abuses existing in those which belong to jaghire and altumgha possessions , but instead of leaving the former on that account, I should most undoubtedly take away the latter, securing to the proprietors a liberal and ample equivalent for all such duties as were not raised, in absolute and direct violation of the orders of Government

There are, however, several articles, in what are called the sayer collections, with which Government has no occasion

to interfere and which may very well be left in the hands of the proprietors

## C

## EXTRACT BENGAÏ REVENUE CONSULTATIONS.

10th February 1790

*The following Minute from the Governor General having been sent in circulation on the 7th instant and returned is here recorded*

I have considered Mr Shore's Minutes on the proposed Settlement of the Revenue which were recorded on the proceedings of the 18th September and 21st December last with all the attention which the importance of the subject deserves and which is due to the opinions of a man who is so distinguished for his knowledge of the revenue system of this country and for whose public spirited principles and general character I have the highest esteem

After having experienced so much advantage from the able and almost uniform support that I have received from Mr Shore during a period of near three years it would have been particularly gratifying to me if we could have avoided to record different opinions at the moment of our separation but a regard to the due discharge of public duty must supersede all other considerations and I have at least the satisfaction to be certain that no private motives have influence with either of us and that a sense of our duty alone, has occasioned the few exceptions that have arisen to that general concurrence which there will appear to have been in our sentiments on almost all important points relating to the public business

The interests of the Nation as well as the Company and the happiness and prosperity of our subjects in this country are deeply concerned in the points on which we differ and as the public good is our only object I am persuaded that it

is equally our wish, that the final decision may be such, as will most effectually promote it

Mr Shore, in his propositions for making the Behar settlement objected to our notifying to the land-holders the intention of the Court of Directors, to declare the decennial settlement permanent and unalterable, provided that it meets with their approbation, and, in his two last Minutes, he goes further, and endeavours to prove that a permanent assessment of the lands of these provinces, would at any time, be unadvisable — He' also contends, that the taking into the hands of Government, the collection of all internal duties on commerce, and allowing the zemindars and others, by whom these duties have been hitherto levied, a deduction equal to the amount which they now realize from them, will not be productive of the expected advantages to the public at large, and that it is moreover an unjustifiable invasion of private property

Had I entertained a doubt of the expediency of fixing the demand of Government upon the lands, I should certainly have thought it my duty to withhold the notification of the intention of the Court of Directors which I recommended, but after the most mature and deliberate consideration of Mr Shore's reasoning, being still firmly persuaded that a fixed and unalterable assessment of the land-rents, was best calculated to promote the substantial interests of the Company, and of the British nation, as well as the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants of our Indian territories, and being also convinced that such a notification, would render the proprietors of land anxious to have the management of their own estates, and in many instances induce them to come forward with more fair and liberal offers, at the period of making the new settlement, and, at the same time, that even a disappointment of their expectations would be the cause of no real injury to them, or place them in a worse situation than they were before such hopes were held out to them it became my indispensable

duty to propose that the intentions of the Court of Directors should be published

The notification has been accordingly made in the several Collectorships of Behar and in the Collectorship of Midnapore in Orissa the final orders for the settlement of which have been issued and the same reasons will induce me to recommend its being published throughout Bengal

I now come to the two remaining points on which I have differed with Mr Shore and the final decision regarding which must rest with the Honorable Court of Directors viz. the expediency of declaring the decennial settlement permanent and appointing officers on the part of Government, to collect the internal duties on commerce

The following appears to me to be Mr Shore's principal objections to a permanent assessment.— that we do not possess a sufficient knowledge of the actual collections made from the several districts to enable us to distribute the assessment upon them with the requisite equality—that the demands of the zemindars upon the talookdars and ryots, are undefined and even if we did possess a competent knowledge of the above points there are peculiar circumstances attending this country which must ever render it bad policy in the Government to fix their demand upon the lands

I shall now offer such remarks as occur to me on the facts and arguments adduced by Mr Shore in support of the above objections —

Mr Shore observes that we profess to take from the zemindars nine tenths of their receipts and under these circumstances allowing for the common variations in the state of society in the improvement and in the decline of agriculture and admitting the probable alterations in the value of silver it is certain that the constancy of the assessment may be of great inconvenience and even ruinous to many of the contributors and in this case that there will be a necessity of some future alteration which must always take place to

the disadvantage of Government, if the assessment be now declared fixed for ever

Were there any grounds for supposing that a system which secures to the land-holder the possession of his lands, and the profits arising from the improvement of them, will occasion a decline in agriculture, then might we apprehend that a permanent assessment would, in a progress of time, bear hard upon the contributors but reason and experience justify the contrary supposition in which case a fixed assessment must be favourable to the contributors, because their resources will gradually increase, whereas the demand of Government will continue the same

Equally favourable to the contributors, is the probable alteration in the value of silver, for there is little doubt, but that it will continue to fall, as it has done for centuries past, in proportion as the quantity drawn from the mines, and thrown into the general circulation, increases If this be admitted, the assessment will become gradually lighter, because, as the value of silver diminishes, the land-holder will be able, upon an average, to procure the quantity which he may engage to pay annually to Government, with a proportionably smaller part of the produce of his lands, than he can at present

The circumstance of the country being occasionally liable to drought and inundation, which Mr Shore adduces as an argument against a permanent assessment, appears to me strongly in favour of it The losses arising from drought and inundation are partial and temporary, the crops only are damaged or destroyed, the land is neither swept away by inundation, nor rendered barren by drought, but, in the ensuing year, produces crops as plentiful as those which it would have yielded, had it not been visited by those calamities

Now, if Mr Shore's calculation of the proportion which the zemindars in general receive of the produce of their lands be

accurate it is obvious that every temporary loss must fall upon Government for so long as we profess to leave the zemindars no more than that proportion and claim a right to appropriate the excess to the public use from what funds are they to make these losses good? But when the demand of Government is fixed, an opportunity is afforded to the land holder of increasing his profits by the improvement of his lands and we may reasonably expect that he will provide for occasional losses from the profits of favorable seasons

The necessity therefore of granting remissions to the land holders for temporary losses will diminish in proportion as the produce of the lands increases and exceeds the demand of Government

But let us suppose that hereafter it should be found necessary to grant remissions in districts which may suffer from drought or inundation this is no argument against a permanent assessment for under the present system of variable assessments we are frequently obliged to grant considerable deductions on these accounts and there is no prospect of our being able to discontinue them so long as the country is assessed at its full value and no more is left to the land holder than is barely sufficient for his subsistence and for defraying the charges of collecting the rents from his lands

There is this further advantage to be expected from a fixed assessment in a country subject to drought and inundation that it affords a strong inducement to the land holder to exert himself to repair as speedily as possible the damages which his lands may have sustained from these calamities for it is to be expected that when the public demand upon his lands is limited to a specific sum he will employ every means in his power to render them capable of again paying that sum and as large a surplus as possible for his own use His ability to raise money to make these exertions, will be proportionably increased by the additional value which the limitation of the public demand will stamp upon his landed property

the reverse of this is to be expected, when the public assessment is subject to unlimited increase

I am of opinion therefore, that there is no reason to apprehend a greater deficiency in the public revenue, from drought and inundation, when the assessment is fixed, than we have hitherto sustained, under the system of variable assessments, on the contrary, that we have very sufficient grounds for supposing that the necessity for granting remissions on these accounts will become gradually less. It further appears to me that the practice of heaping up the public revenue, by charging occasionally the improved estate of one land-holder with deficiencies in the public revenue assessed upon the lands of his neighbour, is both unjust and impolitic, and that until this practice is discontinued, both the land-holders and their under-tenants and ryots, will in general remain in a state of impoverishment, and that landed property will continue at its present depreciated value

Mr Shore observes, that the zemindars are ignorant of their true interests, and of all that relates to their estates —That the detail of business with their tenants is irregular and confused, exhibiting an intricate scene of collusion, opposed to exaction, and of unlicensed demand substituted for methodized claims —that the rules by which the rents are demanded from the ryots, are numerous, arbitrary, and indefinite —that the officers of Government possessing local control, are imperfectly acquainted with them, whilst their superiors, further removed from the detail, have still less information —that the rights of the talookdars dependent on the zemindars, as well as of the ryots, are imperfectly understood and defined —that in common cases, we often want sufficient data and experience to enable us to decide, with justice and policy, upon claims to exemption from taxes, and that a decision erroneously made, may be followed by one or other of these consequences,—a diminution of the revenues of Government or a confirmation of oppressive exaction —that no one is



so sanguine as to expect that the perpetration of the zemindary assessment will at once provide a remedy for these evils: that time must be allowed for the growth of confidence and the acquisition of knowledge—that we know from experience what the zemindars are and that he is not inclined in opposition to that experience to suppose that they will at once assume new principles of action and become economical landlords and prudent trustees of the public interests

With regard to the ignorance and incapacity of the zemindars admitting these defects to exist in that class of people to the extent supposed I have already given it as my opinion that they are to be attributed greatly to the system of collecting the public revenue from their lands which so long prevailed in this country to keep them in a state of tutelage and to prohibit them from borrowing money or disposing of their lands without the knowledge of Government as we do at present, with a view to prevent them suffering the consequences of their profligacy and incapacity will perpetuate these defects. If laws are enacted which secure to them the fruits of industry and economy and at the same time leave them to experience the consequence of idleness and extravagance they must either render themselves capable of transacting their own business or their necessities will oblige them to dispose of their lands to others who will cultivate and improve them. This I conceive to be the only effectual mode which this or any other Government could adopt to render the proprietors of the lands economical landlords, and prudent trustees of the public interests

I must here observe however that the charge of incapacity can be applied only to the proprietors of the larger zemindaries. The proprietors of the smaller zemindaries and talooks in general conduct their own business and I make no doubt would improve their lands were they exempted from the authority of the zemindars and allowed to pay their revenue immediately to the public treasures of the Collectors.

Admitting the detail of business between the zemindars and their under-tenants and ryots, to be in the intricate state described by Mr. Shore does it not prove that the various attempts hitherto made by successive administrations to simplify this intricacy have been defective in principle and consequently establish the necessity of having recourse to other measures for that purpose? We have found that the numerous prohibitory orders against the levying of new taxes, accompanied with threats of fine and punishment for the disobedience of them have proved ineffectual, and indeed, how could it be expected that whilst the Government were increasing their demands upon the zemindars that they in their turn would not oppress the ryots, or that a farmer whose interest extended little farther than to the crops upon the ground would not endeavour to exact by every means in his power as large a sum as possible over and above the amount of his engagements with the public.

If the officers of Government possessing local control, are imperfectly acquainted with the rules by which the rents are demanded from the ryots, and their superiors further removed from this detail have still less information of them, at what period are we to hope that Government and its officers, will obtain a more perfect knowledge of them? The Collectors have now been three years acting under positive instructions, to obtain the necessary information for concluding a permanent settlement. They have transmitted their reports, and if the information contained in them, and the numerous discussions on the same points recorded on the proceedings of former administrations, are insufficient for us to act upon, at what period, and from whom, are we to expect to procure more perfect materials? Most of the Collectors who have furnished the last reports, are now upon the spot, and are the persons best qualified for carrying into execution the system which we may adopt. It is to be supposed that they have communicated all the information which they possessed, and no further lights are therefore to be expected from them. Shall we act upon

this information, or shall we wait for other Collectors and fresh reports or shall we calmly sit down discouraged by the difficulties which are supposed to exist and leave the revenue affairs of this country in the singular state of confusion in which they are represented to be by Mr Shore?

In order to simplify the demand of the land holder upon the ryots or cultivator of the soil, we must begin with fixing the demand of Government upon the former this done I have little doubt but that the land holders will without difficulty be made to grant Pottahs to the ryots upon the principles proposed by Mr Shore in his propositions for the Bengal settlement. The value of the produce of the land is well known to the proprietor or his officers and to the ryot who cultivates it and is a standard which can always be reverted to by both parties for fixing equitable rates.

Mr Shore in his Minute prefixed to his propositions for the Bengal settlement, has furnished the most satisfactory arguments to prove the incompetency of the officers of Government to enter into this detail with any prospect of success. He observes That it would be endless to attempt the subordinate variations in the tenures or conditions of the ryots that it is evident in a country where discretion has so long been the measure of exaction where the qualities of the soil and the nature of the produce suggest the rates of the rents where the standard of measuring the land varies and where endless and often contradictory customs exist, in the same district and village the task must be nearly impossible that the Collector of Rajeshahy observes upon the subject that the infinite varieties of soil and the further variations of value from local circumstances, are absolutely beyond the investigation or almost comprehension not merely of a Collector but of any man who has not made it the business of his life.

It is evident therefore that the only mode of remedying these evils which is likely to be attended with success is to establish such rules as shall oblige the proprietors of the soil

and their ryots, who alone possess the requisite information for this purpose, to come to a fair adjustment of the rates to be paid for the different kinds of lands or produce in their respective districts. Mr Shore's proposition, that the rents of the ryots, by whatever rule or custom they may be demanded, shall be specific as to their amount,—that the land-holders shall be obliged, within a certain time, to grant Pottahs or writings to their ryots, in which this amount shall be inserted, and that no ryot shall be liable to pay more than the sum actually specified in his Pottah, if duly enforced by the Collectors,—will soon obviate the objection to a fixed assessment, founded upon the undefined state of the demands of the land-holders upon the ryots.

When the spirit of improvement is diffused throughout the country, the ryots will find a further security in the competition of the land-holders, to add to the number of their tenants.

It is no objection to the perpetuation of the zemindary assessment, that it will not at once provide a remedy for those evils. It is sufficient if it operates progressively to that end.

Mr Shore observes, that we have experience of what the zemindars are, but the experience of what they are, or have been, under one system, is by no means the proper criterion to determine what they would be under the influence of another, founded upon very different principles. We have no experience of what the zemindars would be under the system which I recommend to be adopted.

I agree with Mr Shore, that some interference on the part of Government, is undoubtedly necessary for effecting an adjustment of the demands of the zemindars upon the ryots, nor do I conceive that the former will take alarm, at the reservation of this right of interference, when convinced that Government can have no interest in exercising it but for the purposes of public justice. Were the Government itself to be a party in the cause, they might have some grounds for apprehending the results of its decisions.

Mr Shore observes that this interference is inconsistent with proprietary right that it is an encroachment upon it, to prohibit a landlord from imposing taxes upon his tenant for it is saying to him, that he shall not raise the rents of his estates and that if the land is the zemindar's it will only be partially his property whilst we prescribe the quantum which he is to collect or the mode by which the adjustment is to take place between the parties concerned

If Mr Shore means that after having declared the zemindar proprietor of the soil in order to be consistent we have no right to prevent his imposing new abwabs or taxes on the lands in cultivation I must differ with him in opinion, unless we suppose the ryots to be absolute slaves of the zemindars every bega of land possessed by them, must have been cultivated under an express or implied agreement that a certain sum should be paid for each bega of produce and no more. Every abwab or tax imposed by the zemindar over and above that sum is not only a breach of that agreement but a direct violation of the established laws of the country. The cultivator therefore has in such case an undoubted right to apply to Government for the protection of his property and Government is at all times bound to afford him redress. I do not hesitate therefore to give it as my opinion that the zemindars neither now nor ever could possess a right to impose taxes or abwabs upon the ryots and if from the confusions which prevailed towards the close of the Mogul Government, or neglect or want of information since we have had the possession of the country new abwabs have been imposed by the zemindars or farmers that Government has an undoubted right to abolish such as are oppressive, and have never been confirmed by a competent authority and to establish such regulations as may prevent the practice of like abuses in future

Neither is the Privilege which the ryots in many parts of Bengal enjoy of holding possession of the spots of land which

they cultivate, so long as they pay the revenue assessed upon them, by any means incompatible with the proprietary rights of the zemindars. Whoever cultivates the land, the zemindars can receive no more than the established rent, which in most places is fully equal to what the cultivator can afford to pay. To permit him to dispossess one cultivator, for the sole purpose of giving the land to another, would be vesting him with a power to commit a wanton act of oppression, from which he could derive no benefit. The practice that prevailed under the Mogul Government, of uniting many districts into one zemindary, and thereby subjecting a large body of people to the control of one principal zemindar, rendered some restriction of this nature absolutely necessary. The zemindar, however, may sell the land, and the cultivators must pay the rent to the purchaser.

Neither is prohibiting the land-holder to impose new abwabs or taxes on the land in cultivation, tantamount to saying to him, that he shall not raise the rents of his estates. The rents of an estate are not to be raised by the imposition of new abwabs or taxes on every bega of land in cultivation, on the contrary, they will in the end, be lowered by such impositions for when the rate of assessment becomes so oppressive as not to leave the ryot a sufficient share of the produce for the maintenance of his family, and the expenses of cultivation, he must at length desert the land. No zemindar claims a right to impose new taxes on the land in cultivation, although it is obvious that they have clandestinely levied them, when pressed to answer demands upon themselves, and that these taxes have, from various causes, been perpetuated to the ultimate detriment of the proprietor who imposed them.

The rents of an estate can only be raised, by inducing the ryots to cultivate the more valuable articles of produce, and to clear the extensive tracts of waste land, which are to be found in almost every zemindary in Bengal. It requires no local

knowledge of the revenues of this country, to decide whether fixing the assessment or leaving it liable to future increase, at the discretion of Government or its officers will afford the greatest encouragement to the land holder to have recourse to these means for the improvement of his estate

In support of the opinion which I expressed upon a former occasion respecting the large proportion of waste land in the Company's territories I have annexed some extracts from the correspondence of the Collector in the Dacca Province, &c and whoever will take the trouble to consult the public proceedings will find there are many districts both in Bengal and Behar which are not better cultivated than those alluded to in letters of the above mentioned Collectors

It does not appear to me that the regulations for the new settlement confirm all existing taxes if upon enquiry they shall appear to be unauthorized and of recent imposition nor that the zemindars will be entitled to deductions upon the abolition of them

With regard to the rates at which landed property transferred by public sale, in liquidation of arrears and it may be added by private sale or gift are to be assessed I conceive that the new proprietor has a right to collect more than what his predecessor was legally entitled to for the act of transfer certainly gives no sanction to illegal impositions I trust however that the due enforcement of the regulation for obliging the zemindars to grant Pottahs to their ryots as proposed by Mr Shore will soon remove this objection to a permanent settlement. For whoever becomes a proprietor of land after these Pottahs have been issued will succeed to the tenure under the condition and with the knowledge that these Pottahs are to be the rules by which the rents are to be collected from the ryots

With respect to the talookdars, I could have wished that they had been separated entirely from the authority of the zemindars and that they had been allowed to remit the public

revenue assessed upon their lands immediately to the officers of Government, instead of paying it through the zemindar, to whose jurisdiction they are subjected. The last clause in the 16th Article of Mr. Shore's propositions, which directs that the lands of the talookdars shall be separated from the authority of the zemindars and their rents be paid immediately to Government in the event of the zemindars being convicted of demanding more from them than they ought to pay, will afford them some security from oppression.

When the demand of Government upon the zemindars is fixed they can have no plea for levying an increase upon the talookdars, for I conceive the talookdars in general, to have the same property in the soil as the zemindars and that the former are to be considered as proprietors of lesser portions of land, paying their revenues to Government, through the medium of a larger proprietor, instead of remitting them immediately to the public treasury. The pernicious consequences which must result from affording to one individual, an opportunity of raising the public revenue assessed, upon the lands of another, at his own discretion and for his own advantage, are evident, and on this account, I was desirous that all proprietors of land, whether zemindars, talookdars, or choudries, should pay their rent immediately to the European Collector of the district, or other officer of Government, and be subject to the same general laws.

The number of names upon the rent-roll will add little to the business of the Collector of a district, provided that the sum to be paid by each proprietor of land is fixed.

In support of this opinion, I have annexed some Extracts from the Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit, the members of which must have been well acquainted with the customs and practices of the Mogul Government.

These Extracts afford convincing proofs of the proprietary rights of the inferior zemindars and talookdars, and that their being made to pay their rent through the superior zemindar of



the district was solely for the convenience of the Government which found it less difficult to collect the rents from one principal zemindar than from a number of petty proprietors

They further prove that the zemindars who sold their lands to raise money for the liquidation of the public balances disposed of all the rights which they possessed in them as individuals and that whatever authority they might exercise over them after the sale must have been virtually delegated to them by the Government and not derived from themselves and consequently that in separating such talookdars from the jurisdiction of the zemindars we should not have infringed the rights of the latter but only deviated from a practice of the Mogul Government, from which that administration itself frequently departed and whose conduct in cases of this nature should not I conceive be made the rule of ours when found to be inconsistent with the good of the community

The temporary reduction of the tribute of the Rajah of Benares adduced by Mr Shore to prove that the internal arrangements which we may find it necessary to make after fixing the jumma payable by each zemindar may hereafter oblige us to grant remissions and thereby diminish the public revenues does not appear to me a case in point

The revenue received from Benares was at once raised from 23 to 40 lacks of rupees The Rajah being incapable of transacting his own affairs the management of them was vested in a naib or deputy whose rapacity and mal-administration together with that of his officers occasioned a general decline in the cultivation of the country and consequently diminished its resources The late reform of the customs and internal duties gave rise to a further temporary diminution of them

The above are the principal causes which have occasioned the reduction in the revenues in Benares but as it is obvious that similar causes will not exist either in Bengal or Behar no arguments against fixing the assessment in these provinces

can be founded upon this temporary deficiency in the revenues of Benares

Still less can any just conclusions be drawn against fixing the demand of Government upon the lands, from the instance of the settlement made last year in Midnapore, by the present Collectors. Mr Shore observes, that if this assessment, formed upon documents of the greatest probable authenticity, had been declared permanent, the collection of it, if enforced, would have reduced many of the talookdars to distress, and some to ruin — That, are we not as likely, or more so, to err, in the distribution of the assessment upon Collectorships, as upon the subdivisions of a particular district ?

How far this reasoning is applicable to the settlement which we are about to conclude in the districts of Bengal, will appear from a reference to our Proceedings regarding Midnapore

The canongoe of that district delivered in accounts, in which the gross produce of the country was estimated, to be nearly double the amount of the revenue collected from it, on the account of Government. The supposed profits of the landholders, after making allowance for their charges in collecting the rents, were thought larger than what they were entitled to, and measures were taken to appropriate a part of them to the public use

A considerable increase was accordingly imposed on the country, and the canongoe, through whom the accounts of the produce were obtained, pledged himself to become responsible, should the produce of any district fall short of his estimates

It appears from the Collector's report, referred to in Mr Shore's Minute of the 25th November last, that the collection of this settlement was made with much difficulty, and that it was attended with great distress, entailing indigence on the renters of Mincehourah, Kookulpour, and Boccamootah, and that in the two last districts, after the mofussil assets had

been completely collected, there remained a balance due from those mehals which, it was pretty well known was discharged by the sale of effects and the mortgaging of rent free lands.

The Collector further represented that the canongoes estimates had in many places proved fallacious, that the assessment was too high and that there was an absolute necessity for lowering it. In the ensuing year he was accordingly directed to repair to Calcutta and after the accounts which he brought with him were carefully examined we judged it expedient to grant him a general authority to propose such remissions in the assessment as might appear to him necessary.

I confess my expectations were never sanguine that this settlement would be realized without distress to the numerous zemindars and talookdars who are proprietors of the lands in Midnapore and it is my opinion that every attempt of this nature to appropriate to the use of Government the profits of the land holders, allowing them only what upon an arbitrary average estimate is deemed sufficient for their maintenance and defraying the necessary charges of collecting the rents of their estates will end in disappointment to Government ruin to the proprietors of the soil and in the establishment of mutual distrust.

The history of this settlement may be traced upon the public proceedings and I trust, that the state to which it has reduced many of the land holders will suggest to the Court of Directors very strong arguments in favour of a permanent assessment and prove to them the justness of Mr Shore's own observation. That the mere admission of the rights of the zemindars unless followed by the measures that will give value to it will operate but little towards the improvement of the country that the demands of a foreign dominion, like ours ought certainly to be more moderate than the impositions of the native rulers and that to render the value of what we possess permanent, our demands ought to be

fixed that, removed from the control of our own Government the distance of half the globe, every practicable restriction should be imposed upon the administration in India, without circumscribing its necessary power, and the property of the inhabitants be secured against the fluctuations of caprice, or the license of unrestrained control "

The principles which influenced the conclusion of this settlement, I am happy to say, have not found admission among those which are to regulate the formation of the future settlement of the districts in Bengal, and consequently, I trust that we shall not be subjected to the same disappointment which we have experienced in Midnapore

Mr Shore admits the general principle of the inexpediency of the total of the public assessment being increased at any future settlement, but the adoption of his proposition to correct periodically the inequalities that may appear in the proportions which are paid by the individual land-holders, would, in my opinion, be attended with almost every discouragement and mischievous effect that the annual farming system could be supposed to produce

No previous assurances, however solemn, could convince the zemindars, that Government would, at the expiration of their leases, be contented with less than the highest rent that could be exacted from their lands, and even if experience should prove to them, that the intention of laying an additional assessment upon the most wealthy, went no further than to indemnify the public treasury for the losses that had been sustained by deficiencies in the rents of others, it would be vain to expect them to admit the justice of the principle, that the industrious man should be taxed in proportion to the idleness and mismanagement of his neighbours, or, if they admitted it, to persuade them that the shares of those deficiencies had been fairly and impartially distributed, and I must confess, that I do not think that a Government, or a set of Collectors, will never exist in this country, that would be

qualified at the end of a ten years lease to discriminate the acquisitions of fortune which had arisen from advantageous agreements from those that had been produced by the superior economy and industry of other proprietors and consequently that to proportion a general assessment upon that principle would be absolutely impracticable

Although the zemindars and other land holders in this country are in general extremely improvident and from their having been hitherto harassed with annual assessments would no doubt receive a ten years settlement with much satisfaction yet short sighted as they are I cannot by any means admit that they would not clearly see a wide difference between a tenure of short duration and a perpetuity But should it even happen in the first moments of their joy that they could lay aside all apprehensions of meeting with vexations in future settlements they would infallibly recollect themselves when their leases approached within three or four years of a conclusion and as the same pernicious effects would then follow that are now experienced annually they would endeavour to give themselves an appearance of poverty by concealing the wealth that they might have acquired and to depreciate the value of their lands by neglecting their cultivation in hopes of obtaining by those means more advantageous terms at an ensuing settlement and these consequences by withdrawing the application of certain portions of stock and industry must operate for a time to the general detriment of the State

I trust however that it cannot be imagined that I would recommend that the proposed settlements should be made with a blind precipitation or without our having obtained all the useful information that in my opinion can be expected of the real state and value of the different districts

Twenty years have been employed in collecting information —In 1769 Supervisors were appointed —in 1770 provincial Councils were established —in 1772, a Committee of Cir

cut was deputed to make the settlement, armed with all the powers of the Presidency,—in 1776, Aumeens were appointed to make a hushabood of the country,—in 1781, the provincial Council of revenue were abolished, and Collectors were sent into the several districts, and the general Council and management of the revenues, was lodged in a Committee of revenue at Calcutta, under the immediate inspection of Government. Like our predecessors, we set out with seeking for new information, and we have now been three years in collecting it. Voluminous reports have been transmitted by the several Collectors on every point which was deemed of importance. The object of these various arrangements has been, to obtain an accurate knowledge of the value of the lands, and of the rules by which the zemindars collect the rents from the ryots.

The Collectors in Behar not even excepting the two to whom Mr. Shore alludes as having declared it impracticable to make the proposed settlement, have already, with great appearance of benefit to the Company, and of advantage to the Natives, made considerable progress in executing the instructions that they have received for making the ten years' settlement, conformable to the orders of the Court of Directors, and in every instance where it has been stated, that further time was necessary to acquire a minute knowledge of the resources of any particular district, the Board has readily acquiesced, in allowing a partial delay.

I shall certainly be no less inclined to recommend the observation of the same rule, during the progress of the settlement in Bengal and Orissa, and in those districts that, from long mismanagement, are evidently in a state of decline and disorder, I shall not only willingly agree to postpone the settlement for a twelve month longer, but also assent to any modifications in it that may appear to be applicable to their present conditions. But after having adopted those and such other measures as may appear necessary, from the

reports and explanations which may be laid before us by the different Collectors whilst they are engaged in the execution of our instructions I must declare that I am clearly of opinion that this Government will never be better qualified at any given period whatever to make an equitable settlement of the land revenue of these provinces and that if the want of further information was to be admitted now or at any other future period as a ground for delaying the declaration of the permanency of the assessment the commencement of the happiness of the people and of the prosperity of the country would be delayed for ever

The question that has been so much agitated in this country whether the zemindars and talookdars are the actual proprietors of the soil or only officers of Government has always appeared to me to be very uninteresting to them, whilst their claim to a certain percentage upon the rents of their lands, has been admitted and the right of Government to fix the amount of those rents at its own discretion has never been denied or disputed

Under the former practice of the annual settlement zemindars who have either refused to agree to pay the rents that have been required or who have been thought unworthy of being intrusted with the management, have since our acquisition of the Dewanny been dispossessed in numberless instances and their land held khas, or let to a farmer and when it is recollected that pecuniary allowances have not always been given to dispossessed zemindars in Bengal I conceive that a more nugatory or delusive species of property could hardly exist.

On the other hand the grant of these lands at a fixed assessment will stamp a value upon them hitherto unknown and by the facility which it will create of raising money upon them either by mortgage or sale will provide a certain fund for the liquidation of public or private demands, or prove an incitement to exertion and industry by securing the fruits of those qualities in the tenure to the proprietor's own benefit

I now come to the remaining point upon which I have differed with Mr Shore, viz, the expediency of taking into the hands of Government, the collection of the internal duties on commerce, and allowing to the zemindars and others, by whom these duties have been hitherto levied, a deduction adequate to the amount which they now realize from them

Mr Shore's propositions for the settlement of Bengal, will point out his sentiments regarding the collection of the internal duties, and I believe it was principally at my instance, that he acquiesced in the resolution for taking the collection of these duties into the hands of Government, in Behar, as entered on our proceedings of the 18th September last

It was by my desire, also, that similar instructions were issued to the Collector of Midnapore

To those who have adopted the idea, that the zemindars have no property in the soil, and that Government is the actual landlord, and that the zemindars are officers of Government removeable at pleasure, the question regarding the right of the zemindars to collect the internal duties on commerce, would appear unnecessary. The committing the charge of the land-revenues to one officer, and the collection of the internal duties to another, would to them appear only a deviation from the practice of the Mogul Government, and not an infringement of the rights of individuals, but what I have already said will be sufficient to show, that these are not the grounds upon which I have recommended the adoption of the measure

I admit the proprietary rights of the zemindars, and that they have hitherto held the collection of the internal duties, but this privilege appears to me so incompatible with the general prosperity of the country, that however it may be sanctioned by long usage, I conceive there are few who will not think us justifiable in resuming it.



It is almost unnecessary to observe, how much the prosperity of this country depends upon the removal of all obstructions both to its internal and foreign commerce. It is from these resources only that it can supply the large proportions of its wealth which are annually drained from it both by the Company and by Individuals.

The rates by which the internal duties are levied and the amount of them collected in each zemindary have as far as I have been able to trace never been ascertained when the lands of the zemindars have been leased out to farmers these duties have been collected by them.

It is I believe generally allowed that no individual in a state can possess an inherent right to levy a duty on goods or merchandize purchased or sold within the limits of his estate and much less upon goods passing along the public roads which lead through it. This is a privilege which the sovereign power alone is entitled to exercise and no where else can it be lodged with safety. Every unauthorized exaction levied on the goods of a merchant and every detention of them in their progress through the country is a great public injury. The importation of foreign commodities and the exportation of our own are alike obstructed for accumulated exactions by raising the price diminish the consumption of the commodity and the merchant is under the necessity either to give up his trade or to go to other countries in search of the same goods. It cannot be expected that a zemindar will be influenced by these considerations and much less a temporary farmer whose only object can be to exact from the cultivators of the soil as well as from merchants and traders as much as he can compel them to pay.

The Court of Directors themselves appear to have been of this opinion from the following paragraph of their letter of the 10th April 1771 —

‘As we have reason to believe that many bazaars are held in the provinces, without the authority of Government, and

which must be an infringement of its right, a great detriment to the public collection, and a burden and oppression on the inhabitants, you will take care that no bazzars or gunges be kept up, but such as particularly belong to the Government — But in such bazzars and gunges, the duties are to be rated in such manner as their situations, and the flourishing state of the respective districts will admit ”

And in the same letter, they observe — “ Persuaded as we are that the internal traffic of Bengal has received further checks from the duties which are levied, and the exactions which are imposed at chokies, we positively direct, that no such chokies be suffered to continue, on any pretence whatever, to impede the course of commerce from one part of the province to the other. It is necessary, however, that the nine general chokies which have been established for collecting the duties payable to the Circar, should remain, and these only ”

The chokies stationed upon the banks of the rivers to collect duties on boats, on the part of the zemindars, were directed to be abolished, in consequence of the Company's orders, and adequate deductions were granted to the zemindars, but the duties levied at the hauts, gunges, and inland chokies, were ordered to be continued, in the hands of the zemindars as formerly. The zemindars were also prohibited from collecting inland rahdarry duties, that is, duties upon goods not brought or sold within their zemindaries, but only passing through them. Notwithstanding this prohibition has been frequently repeated, our proceedings exhibit numerous instances of these rahdarry duties being levied by zemindars and farmers, and from opportunities which are afforded them, by having the collection of the authorized inland duties in their hands, I have every reason to believe that the practice is but too general. I understand that the Collector of Nuddea has lately abolished a very considerable number of chokies, at which unauthorized duties were collected on

the internal trade by the officers of the zemindar in defiance of the repeated orders of Government. If these interruptions to commerce are found to exist in a district almost in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and under a vigilant Collector it may be supposed that in the more inland parts of the country and under Collectors less active that the evil prevails to a greater extent

The inefficacy of the power of Government to restrain zemindars from these oppressive exactions whilst they are allowed to possess the right of levying taxes of any kind upon commerce has been long experienced in many shapes. It is only by the total resumption of this right that such abuse can be prevented and as the general interests of the community require that a regular system of taxation upon the internal trade of the country should be established we are justified by the constant practice of our own country and that of other nations in demanding from individual upon granting them a full compensation for their present value a surrender of privileges which counteract so beneficial a measure

Further benefits are to be derived from this arrangement when the amount of the internal duties the rates by which they are levied and the articles subject to the payment of them are ascertained. Some may be increased and others diminished or struck off according as may be judged advisable and in course of time as commerce and wealth increase, such regulations may be made in the duties on the internal trade and the foreign imports and exports as will afford a large addition to the income of the public, whenever its necessities may require it without discouraging trade or manufactures or imposing any additional rent on the lands

Having stated such remarks on Mr Shore's Minute as appeared to me necessary I shall subjoin the following observations on the revenue system of this country which may be found deserving of consideration —

Although Government has an undoubted right to collect a portion of the produce of the lands to supply the public exigencies, it cannot, consistent with the principles of justice and policy, assume to itself a right of making annual or periodical valuations of the lands, and taking the whole produce, except such portion as it may think proper to relinquish to the proprietors for their maintenance, and for defraying the charges of managing their estates

The Supreme power in every State, must possess the right of taxing the subject, agreeably to certain general rules, but the practice which has prevailed in this country for some time past, of making frequent valuations of the lands, and where one person's estate has improved, and another's declined, of appropriating the increased produce of the former, to supply the deficiencies in the latter, is not taxation, but in fact a declaration that the property of the land-holder is, at the absolute disposal of Government. Every man who is acquainted with the causes which operate to impoverish or enrich a country, must be sensible that our Indian territories must continue to decline, as long as the practice is adhered to

The maxim that equality in taxation is an object of the greatest importance, and that in justice all the subjects of a State should contribute as nearly as possible, in proportion to the income which they enjoy under its protection does not prove the expediency of varying the demand of Government upon the lands, on the contrary, we shall find that, in countries in which this maxim is one of the leading principles in the imposition of taxes, the valuation of the land on which they are levied is never varied

In raising a revenue to answer the public exigencies, we ought to be careful to interfere as little as possible in those sources from which the wealth of the subject is derived

Agriculture is the principal source of the riches of Bengal, the cultivator of the soil furnishes most of the materials for its numerous manufactures In proportion as agriculture

declines the quantity of these materials must diminish and the value of them increase and consequently the manufactures must become dearer and the demand for them be gradually lessened Improvement in agriculture will produce the opposite effects

The attention of Government ought therefore to be directed to render the assessment upon the lands as little burdensome as possible this is to be accomplished only by fixing it The proprietor will then have some inducement to improve his lands and as his profits will increase in proportion to his exertions he will gradually become better able to discharge the public revenue

By reserving the collection of the internal duties on commerce Government may at all times appropriate to itself a share of the accumulating wealth of its subjects without their being sensible of it. The burden will also be more equally distributed at present the whole weight rests upon the land holders and cultivators of the soil

Whereas the merchants and inhabitants of the cities and towns the proprietors of rent free lands and in general all persons not employed in the cultivation of the lands, paying revenue to Government contribute but little in proportion to their means to the exigencies of the State It is evident therefore that varying the assessment on the lands is not the mode of carrying into practice the maxim that all the subjects of a State ought to contribute to the public exigencies in proportion to their incomes and that other means must be employed for effecting this object

In case of a foreign invasion it is a matter of the last importance considering the means by which we keep possession of this country that the proprietors of the lands should be attached to us from motives of self interest A land holder who is secured in the quiet enjoyment of a profitable estate can have no motive for wishing for a change On the contrary if the rents of his lands are raised in proportion to their improvements—if he is liable to be dispossessed should

he refuse to pay the increase required of him,— or if threatened with imprisonment or confiscation of his property, on account of balance due to Government, upon an assessment which his lands were unequal to pay, he will readily listen to any offers which are likely to bring about a change that cannot place him in a worse situation, but which hold out to him hopes of a better

Until the assessment on the lands is fixed, the constitution of our internal Government in this country, will never take that form which alone can lead to the establishment of good laws, and ensure a due administration of them. For whilst the assessment is liable to frequent variation, a great portion of the time and attention of the Supreme Board, and the unremitting application of the Company's servants of the first abilities, and most established integrity will be required to prevent the land-holders being plundered, and the revenues of Government diminished, at every new settlement, and powers and functions, which ought to be lodged in different hands, must continue as at present, vested in the same persons, and whilst they remain so united, we cannot expect that the laws which may be enacted for the protection of the rights and property of the land-holders, and cultivators of the soil, will ever be duly enforced

We have, by a train of the most fortunate events, obtained the dominion of one of the most fertile countries on the face of the globe, with a population of mild and industrious inhabitants, perhaps equal to, if not exceeding in number, that of all the other British possessions put together

Its real value to Britain, depends upon the continuance of its ability to furnish a large annual investment to Europe, to give considerable assistance to the treasury at Canton, and to supply the pressing and extensive wants of the other Presidencies

The consequences of the heavy drains of wealth, from the above causes, with the addition of that which has been occasioned by the remittance of the private fortunes, have

been for many years past, and are now severely felt by the great diminution of the current specie and by the languor which has thereby been thrown upon the cultivation and the general commerce of the country

A very material alteration in the principles of our system of management has therefore become indispensably necessary in order to restore this country to a state of prosperity and to enable it to continue to be a solid support to the British interests and power in this part of the world

We can only accomplish this desirable object by devising measures to rouse and increase the industry of the inhabitants and it would be in vain to hope that any means but those of holding forth prospects of private advantage to themselves, could possibly succeed to animate them to exertion

I am sorry to be obliged to acknowledge it but it is a truth too evident to deny that the land proprietors throughout the whole of the Company's provinces are in a general state of poverty and depression

I cannot even except the principal zemindars from this observation and it was not without concern that I saw it verified very lately in one instance by the Rajah of Burdwan who pays a yearly rent of upwards of £ 400 000 to Government, having allowed some of his most valuable lands to be sold, for the discharge of an inconsiderable balance due to Government.

The indolent and debased character of many of the zemindars must no doubt have contributed to the ruin of their circumstances and though I am afraid the cases are but few yet I conceive it to be possible that there may be some instances in which the poverty that is pleaded may be only pretended

Either supposition must however reflect some discredit upon our system of management for it would imply that we have been deficient in taking proper measures to incite the zemindars to a line of conduct, which would produce advantage to themselves or that if they have acquired wealth, their apprehension of our rapacity induces them to conceal it.

We are therefore called upon to endeavour to remedy evils by which the public interests are essentially injured, and by granting perpetual leases of the lands at a fixed assessment we shall render our subjects the happiest people in India, and we shall have reason to rejoice at the increase of their wealth and prosperity as it will infallibly add to the strength and resources of the State.

I therefore propose that the letter from the Board of Revenue with the reports of the Collectors in Bengal respecting the ten years settlement and Mr Shore's Minute and Proposition delivered in for record in June last be now entered upon the proceedings.

That a copy of Mr Shore's Propositions (the articles relating to the gunges excepted) with such of the alterations contained in our Resolutions of the 25th November last, for the settlement of Midnapore, as are applicable to the districts in general, be transmitted to the Board of Revenue, and that they be directed to proceed without delay, to form the ten years settlement in Bengal, agreeable to the rules and prescriptions therein laid down.

That the Board of Revenue be directed to notify to the land-holders, that the settlement if approved by the Court of Directors, will become permanent, and no alternation take place at the expiration of the ten years.

That the Board of Revenue be further directed to issue the same instructions to the Collectors in Bengal, for the separation of the gunges, hazars, and huils, held within them, as have been transmitted to the Collectors of Behar and the Collector of Midnapore.

*February 3rd*



## D

THE GOVERNOR GENERAL IN COUNCIL TO THE COURT OF  
DIRECTORS

Fort William March 6 1793

HONOURABLE SIR,

With respect to your suggestion regarding waste land we do not hesitate to offer it as our opinion that any attempt to stipulate for a proportion of their produce would not only be considered a breach of the engagements entered into with the landholders but that it would greatly counteract if not altogether damp that spirit of industry and improvement to excite which is the great object of fixing the tax upon each estate

It is necessary to apprise you (of what you could not have been ware) that all waste lands form a part of the estates of the different land holders, and the boundaries of the portions of those lands that belong to each individual are as well defined as the limits of the cultivated parts of their property and that they are as tenacious of their right of possession in the former as the latter

The waste lands may in general be comprehended under two descriptions First those in the level country which are interspersed in more or less extensive tracts amongst the cultivated lands and secondly the Sunderbunds (the country along the sea shore between the Hoogly and Megna Rivers) and the foot of the vast range of mountains which nearly encircle your Bengal provinces

The first mentioned description of waste ground will be easily brought into cultivation when the zemindars have funds for that purpose and provided they are certain of reaping the profit arising from the improvement These land however are not wholly unproductive to them at present They furnish pasture for the great herds of cattle

that are necessary for the plough, and also to supply the inhabitants with ghee (a species of butter) and milk, two of the principal necessities of life in this country. It is true that the lands in this desolate state far exceed what would suffice for the above purposes, but it is the expectation of bringing them into cultivation, and reaping the profit of them, that has induced many to agree to the decennial jumma which has been assessed upon their lands. It is this additional resource alone which can place the landholders in a state of affluence, and enable them to guard against inundation or drought, the two calamities to which this country must ever be liable until the landholders are enabled to provide (as we are of opinion they in a great measure might) by the above-mentioned and other works of art. To stipulate with them, therefore, for any part of the produce of their waste lands would not only diminish the incitement to these great and essential improvements in the agriculture of the country, but deprive them of the means of effecting it. In addition to these weighty objections it would be necessary, in order to obtain any revenue from the waste lands of this description, to enter into innumerable and complicated scrutinies and measurements in the first instance to ascertain the proportions of waste and cultivated lands in each individual's estate and to renew them annually or occasionally to know the progress made in the cultivation of the latter. The altercations and vexatious oppressions, and the great expence which would inevitably result in settling what proportion of these waste lands should be liable to assessment and the rates at which they should be taxed, would certainly destroy all ideas of a fixed taxation, and prevent the introduction of that spirit of industry and confidence in our good faith which is expected to result from it. The landholders and cultivators of the soil would continue (as they have hitherto been) little more than the farmers and labourers upon a great estate, of which Government would be the landlord. In endeavouring, therefore, to obtain an addition to the public .

income by reserving a portion of the produce of the waste lands, Government would risk the realizing of the very ample revenue which has been assessed upon the country and landed property would continue at the very depreciated value which it has hitherto borne

With respect to the second description of waste lands (the lower parts of the Sunderbunders perhaps excepted) they also include the estates of the individuals with whom the settlement is made. But supposing these lands to be at the disposal of Government as they have for the most part been covered with forest or underwood from time immemorial and as the soil is in itself compared with that of the open country unproductive and (besides the labour and expense which would attend the bringing it into cultivation) its produce would be comparatively of little value from the distance of the high roads and navigable rivers and the consequent difficulty of bringing it to market. We are of opinion therefore, that whilst there is a call for all the labour not only of the present inhabitants but of the greatest increased population that peace and prosperity can be expected to produce to bring the waste lands in the open country into cultivation the labour of any considerable number of people would be unprofitably bestowed upon such wild and inhospitable tracts supposing it could be directed thereto by the grant of rewards or immunities or by any other means. When the open country is brought into cultivation the industry of the people will then of itself be directed to these desolate tracts but as this cannot be expected to be the case for a long period of years we think that any premature attention to these objects that might tend in any degree to interfere with the noble system of which you have laid the foundation would be inconsistent with good policy and defeat the end which it might be expected to answer

We think this a proper opportunity to observe that if at any future period the public exigencies should require an

addition to your resources, you must look for this addition in the increase of the general wealth and commerce of the country, and not in the augmentation of the tax upon the land. Although agriculture and commerce promote each other, yet in this country, more than in any other, agriculture must flourish before its commerce can become extensive. The materials for all the most valuable manufactures are the produce of its own lands. It follows therefore that the extent of its commerce must depend upon the encouragement given to agriculture, and that whatever tends to impede the latter destroys the two great sources of its wealth. At present almost the whole of your revenue is raised upon the lands and any attempt to participate with the landholders in the produce of the waste lands would (as we have said) operate to discourage their being brought into cultivation, and consequently prevent the augmentation of articles for manufacture or export. The increase of cultivation (which nothing but permitting the landholders to reap the benefit of it can effect) will be productive of the opposite consequences. To what extent the trade and manufactures of this country may increase under the very liberal measures which have been adopted for enabling British subjects to convey their goods to Europe at a moderate freight, we can form no conjecture. We are satisfied, however, that it will far exceed general expectation, and the duties on the import and export trade (exclusive of any internal duties which it may in future be thought advisable to impose), that may hereafter be levied, will afford an ample increase to your resources, and without burdening the people or affecting in any shape the industry of the country.

From the proceedings which we shall forward to you by the next despatch, you will find that we have anticipated your wishes respecting the pattaahs to be granted by the landholders to the ryots. It is with pleasure we acquaint you that throughout the greater part of the country specific agreements have been exchanged between the landholders

and the ryots and that where these writings have not been entered into, the landholders have bound themselves to prepare and deliver them by fixed periods We shall here only observe that under the new arrangements to which we shall presently advert the ryots will always have it in their own power to compel an adherence to the agreements by an appeal to the courts of justice whenever the landholders may attempt to infringe them

We now come to the very important part of your instructions empowering us to declare the tax assessed upon the lands in the provinces fixed for ever

From the advices which we have forwarded to you since the date of the latest letter acknowledged in your instructions you will have perceived that so far from any circumstances having occurred to defeat your reasonable expectations of the result of the settlement, the jumma of it has exceeded the estimated amount, and that every occurrence has tended to confirm and strengthen the decided opinions which we formerly expressed of the expediency of the measure We are not aware of any material reason that would render it advisable to postpone the declaration whereas there are a variety of considerations which appear to us to make it highly expedient that the valuable rights and tenures which you have conferred upon the landholders in these provinces should be announced to them without delay The seasons this year have been remarkably favorable and abundance reigns throughout the country The public credit is high the paper in circulations bearing an interest of 8 per cent selling at a premium of 1 per cent and the interest of money is proportionably low As this paper is in course of payment there is every ground to expect that the large capitals possessed by many of the natives (which they will have no means of employing when the public debt is discharged) will be applied to the purchase of landed property as soon as the tenure is declared to be secure, and they are capable of estimating what profit they will be certain of deriving from it by the public tax

upon it being unalterably fixed. With respect to those landholders with whom a ten year's settlement has been concluded, the announcing to them that their jumma is fixed for ever, will not only incline them to pay their current revenue with cheerfulness but add to their ability to discharge it by the credit which they will obtain from the increased value of their tenures. On the other hand the declaration will not fail to render the few landholders who have not entered into engagements, eager to secure to themselves the same valuable rights and privileges.

For the above reasons we should think it impolitic to delay the declaration that you have empowered us to make, the announcing of which will, we are persuaded, be considered as the commencement of the era of improvement and prosperity in this country. We shall be particularly careful that the notification is drawn up in the manner you prescribe, and that the terms of it may be calculated to impress the landholders with the value and importance of the rights conferred upon them, and of your solicitude for their welfare and prosperity. We shall likewise, to prevent any future misconception, expressly reserve to you the right of establishing and collecting any internal duties that you may hereafter think proper to impose, and also declare your determination to assess all alienated or rent-free lands that may hereafter revert to Government, or be proved, after a regular trial in a court of justice, to be held under an invalid tenure. We shall further declare (although a clause to that effect has been inserted in the engagements with the landholders) that you do not mean, by fixing the public demand upon the lands, to debar yourselves from the exercise of the right inherent in you as sovereigns of the country, of making such regulations as you may occasionally think proper for the protection of the ryots and inferior landholders, or other orders of people concerned in the cultivation of the lands. A desire to give this notification the consideration that the importance of its

merits, is the reason of its not having been transmitted to you by this despatch

We now come to the close of your instructions ' the watching over and maturing of this system, maintaining under future administrations the energy which has commenced it,' and to the other important points detailed in the paragraphs specified in the margin

It is with much satisfaction we acquaint you that we have endeavoured to provide for these important points as well as for the administration of the laws and regulations in general both civil and criminal. The arrangements which we have adopted for this purpose are contained in the accompanying copy of a minute from the Governor General recorded in our proceedings of the 11th ultimo and we have resolved to carry them into execution as soon as the collections for the Bengal year are brought to a close. For the reasons at large which have induced us to adopt these arrangements as well as for the detail of them we must refer you to the minute itself. We shall here only state some observations respecting them as they are immediately connected with the part of your instructions above noticed.

The next object which is most essential to the prosperity of your dominions is the providing for the due enforcement not only of the regulations respecting the decennial settlement, but of the laws and regulations in general which in any respect affect the rights or property of your subjects. You will observe from the Governor General's minute that we have anticipated your remark (than which nothing can be more just) that the neglect of instituted regulations has been most noxious to your affairs and we have long been of opinion that no system will ever be carried into effect so long as the personal qualifications of the individuals that may be appointed to superintend it form the only security for the due execution of it. In this country as in every other security of property must be established by a system upheld by its inherent principles, and not by the men who are to have the

occasional conduct of it The body of the people must feel and be satisfied of this security before industry will exert itself, or the moneyed men embark their capitals in agricultural or commercial speculations There are certain powers and functions which can never be vested in the same officers without destroying all confidence in the protection of the laws This remark is particularly applicable to the various functions vested in the present collectors All causes relating to the rights of the several descriptions of landholders and cultivators of the soil, and all claims arising between them and their securities, have been excepted from the cognizance of the regular courts of justice, and made exclusively cognizable by the collector of the revenue This officer has of late years been allowed a commission of the collections, and at all times the realizing of the revenue has been considered as his most important duty, and any failure in the successful collection of it has subjected him to dismissal from his office, under such circumstances it was naturally to be expected that collection of the revenue would be deemed by these officers the most important of their duties, and that all considerations of right would be made subservient to it Where the power to redress oppressions, and functions that must always have a tendency to promote or screen the commission of them, are united in the same person, a strict adherence to the principles of justice, cannot be expected, and still less can it be hoped that the people will feel a confidence of obtaining justice Upon these and other grounds, which are fully detailed in the Governor-General's minute, we resolved to abolish the Maal Adawlut or Revenue Courts, and to withdraw from the Board of the Revenue and the collectors, all judicial powers, thereby confining their duties and functions to the mere collections of the public dues, and to transfer the cognizance of the causes hitherto tried in these courts to the courts of justice

For a more particular detail of the constitution of these courts we must refer you to the Governor-General's minute,



and we shall here only observe that courts of justice are to be continued in each collectorship as heretofore, which are to be denominated *Zillah* or District Courts, and that the judge thereof is to have cognizance over civil causes of all descriptions that may arise in his jurisdiction, whether of the nature of those termed revenue causes and hitherto tried in the Revenue Courts or of the description of those which have been cognizable in the courts of Dewanny Adawlut. We have resolved likewise that the collectors of revenue and their officers and indeed all the officers of Government, shall be amenable to the courts for acts done in their official capacities and that Government itself, in cases in which it may be a party with its subjects in matters of property shall submit its rights to be tried in these courts under the existing laws and regulations. That these courts may have complete authority over all persons residing in their jurisdictions and that natives may be able to procure redress against Europeans with the same facility as the latter can obtain it against the former we have determined that no British subject (excepting King's officers and the civil and the military covenanted servants of the Company) shall be allowed to reside beyond the limits of Calcutta, without entering into a bond to make himself amenable to the court of justice of the district in which he may be desirous of taking up his abode in all civil causes that may be instituted against him by natives. The judges of these courts are also to be vested with the powers of magistrates to preserve the peace and to apprehend and commit offenders to take their trials before the Courts of Circuit.

We have likewise resolved to establish four provincial Courts of Appeal at the cities of Patna, Dacca, Moorshedabad and Calcutta each of these courts to be superintended by three judges an appeal to lie to them in all cases whatsoever from the decisions of the *Zillah* or District and the City Courts within their respective jurisdictions. The appellate jurisdiction of these courts is to extend over the

same districts as are now comprehended in the jurisdictions of the Courts of Circuit, and are as follows —

The city of Calcutta being under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Judicature, the provincial Courts of Appeal will not have cognizance of any civil or criminal causes arising in it

The decrees of the provincial Courts of Appeal are to be final in all causes of personal property not exceeding in value one thousand rupees, and in suits for real property being malguzary, or paying revenue to Government, where the annual produce shall not exceed five hundred rupees, and in causes for lakerage property (that is revenue to Government) where the annual produce shall not exceed one hundred All decisions respecting personal or real property in causes exceeding the above amounts, are to be appealable to the Supreme Board as a Court of Appeal in the last resort, in their capacity of a Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut

We have likewise resolved that the judges of the provincial Courts of Appeal shall be judges of Circuit in their respective divisions In this capacity they will exercise the same powers and duties as were vested in the judges of the Courts of Circuit on the 3rd December, 1790 (whose offices will consequently be abolished), and will be subordinate to the Supreme Government in its capacity of a Nizamut Adawlut, or Superior Criminal Court The great additional advantage, however, which will result from this arrangement is that the provincial Courts of Appeal will consist of three judges, the senior judges will go the circuit of one-half of the stations within their jurisdiction, whilst the other two perform the circuit of the remainder, and consequently the two annual gaol-deliveries will by this means be effected in one-half of the time in which they are accomplished at present by the two judges proceeding together to each station As to the cities, we have resolved that there shall be a gaol-delivery every month, excepting during the time that the judge may be upon the circuit in the districts

We are, &c

## THE CHARTER ACT OF 1793

In 1793 the approaching expiration of the term fixed for the duration of the Company's Government and exclusive trade rendered necessary some legislative provision to meet the event and an Act was accordingly passed continuing both the Government and trade to the Company for a further term of twenty years commencing from the 1st of March 1794. The plan of Government adopted in 1784 was substantially re-enacted. The members of the Board of Commissioners had previously been unsalaried. A portion of them on whom it may be presumed the main weight of business was to devolve were no longer to remain in so unsatisfactory a position. Some additional restraint was laid on the power of the Court of Directors to make pecuniary grants, and the Company were required to reserve a specified amount of tonnage at regulated rates of freight, for the use of private merchants to whom the right of trading with India was now for the first time conceded the amount to be increased if necessary under the orders of the Board of Commissioners. The trade with China was continued to the Company without invasion. This state of things continued undisturbed till the Session of 1813 when the battle for the retention of the government of India and of exclusive privileges of trade had again to be fought.

*Thornton*

## XI

## TREATY OF BASSEIN

*Treaty of perpetual and general defensive alliance, between the Honourable English East India Company and his Highness the Peishwa Budgee Rao Pundit Pundhaun Bahauder, his children, heirs and successors, settled by Lieutenant-Colonel Barry Close, Resident at the Court of his Highness, by virtue of the powers delegated to him by his Excellency the Most Noble Richard Marquis Wellesley Knight of the most illustrious order of Saint Patrick, one of his Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Governor General in Council, appointed by the Honourable Court of Directors of the said Company to direct and controul all their affairs in the East Indies*

Whereas, by the blessing of God, the relations of peace, and friendship, have uninterruptedly subsisted for a length of time between the Honourable English East India Company and his Highness Rao Pundit Pundhaun Bahauder, and have been confirmed at different periods, by treaties of amity and union, the powers aforesaid adverting to the complexion of the times have determined, with a view to the preservation of peace and tranquillity, to enter into a general defensive alliance, for the complete and reciprocal protection of their respective territories, together with those of their several allies and dependants, against the unprovoked aggressions or unjust encroachments of all or any enemies whatever

*Article 1st* —The peace, union and friendship, so long subsisting between the two states, shall be promoted and increased by this treaty, and shall be perpetual The friends and enemies of either, shall be the friends and enemies of both, and the contracting parties agree, that all the former treaties and agreements between the two states, now in force, and not contrary to the tenour of this engagement, shall be confirmed by it.

*Article 2nd* —If any power or state whatever, shall commit any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against either of the contracting parties, or against their respective dependants or allies and after due representation shall refuse to enter into amicable explanation or shall deny the just satisfaction or indemnity which the contracting parties shall have required then the contracting parties will proceed to concert and prosecute such further measures, as the case shall appear to demand

For the more distinct explanation and effect of this agreement the Governor General in Council on behalf of the Honourable Company hereby declares that the British Government will never permit any power or state whatever to commit with impunity any act of unprovoked hostility or aggression against the rights and territories of his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder but will at all times maintain and defend the same in the same manner as the rights and territories of the Honourable Company are now maintained and defended

*Article 3rd* —With a view to fulfil this treaty of general defence and protection his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder agrees to receive and the Honourable East India Company to furnish a permanent subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular native infantry with the usual proportion of field pieces and European artillery men attached, and with the proper equipment of warlike stores and ammunition which force is to be accordingly stationed in perpetuity in his said Highness's territories

*Article 4th* —For the regular payment of the whole expense of the said subsidiary force his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder hereby assigns and cedes in perpetuity to the Honourable East India Company all the territories detailed in the schedule annexed to this treaty

*Article 5th* —As it may be found that certain of the territories ceded by the foregoing article to the Honourable Company may be inconvenient from their situation, his

Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder, for the purpose of rendering the boundary line of the Honourable Company's possessions, a good and well defined one, agrees, that such exchanges of talooks or lands shall be made hereafter, on terms of a fair valuation of their respective revenues, as the completion of the said purpose may require, and it is agreed and covenanted, that the territories to be assigned and ceded to the Honourable Company by the 4th article, or in consequence of the exchange stipulated eventually in this article, shall be subject to the exclusive management and authority of the said company and of their officers

*Article 6th* —Notwithstanding the total annual expence of the subsidiary force is estimated at 25 lacs of rupees, his said Highness hath agreed to cede by article 4th lands estimated to yield annually the sum of 26 lacs of rupees, the additional lac being intended to meet possible deficiencies in the revenues of the said lands, and save the Honourable Company from loss

*Article 7th* —After the conclusion of this treaty, and as soon as the British resident shall signify to his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder, that the Honourable Company's officers are prepared to take charge of the districts ceded by article 4th His Highness will immediately issue the necessary Purwannalis or orders to his officers to deliver over charge of the same to the officers of the Honourable Company, and it is hereby agreed, and stipulated that all collections made by his Highness's officers, susequently to the date of this treaty, and before the officers of the Honourable Company shall have taken charge of the said districts, shall be carried to the credit of the Honourable Company, and all claims to balance from the said districts, referring to the periods antecedent to the conclusion of this treaty, shall be considered null and void

*Article 8th* —All forts situated within the districts to be ceded as aforesaid shall be delivered to the officers of the Honourable Company with the said districts and his ,

Highness Rao Pundit Purdhann Babauder engages that the said forts shall be delivered to the Honourable Company without being injured or damaged and with their equipment of ordnance stores and provisions

*Article 9th*—Grain and all other articles of consumption and provisions and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel together with the necessary numbers of cattle horses and camels required for the use of the subsidiary force shall be entirely exempted from duties and the commanding officer and officers of the said subsidiary force shall be treated in all respects in a manner suited to the dignity and greatness of both states The subsidiary force will at all times be ready to execute services of importance—such as the protection of the person of his Highness his heirs and successors the overawing and chastisement of rebels or excitors of disturbance in his Highness's dominions and due correction of his subjects or dependants who may withhold payment of the sircar's just claims but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions nor like sibundy to be stationed in the country to collect the revenues nor against any of the principal branches of the Mahratta Empire nor in levying contributions from Mahratta dependants in the manner of Moolk geery

*Article 10th.*—Whereas much inconvenience has arisen from certain claims and demands of the Mahratta state affecting the city of Surat it is agreed that a just calculation shall be made of the value of the said claims by his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhann Babauder and the government of Bombay and in consequence of the intimate friendship now established between the contracting parties his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhann Babauder agrees for himself his heirs and successors to relinquish for ever all the rights claims and privileges of the Mahratta state affecting the said city of Surat and all collections on that account shall cease and determine from the day on which this treaty shall be concluded In consideration of which act of friendship, the Honourable East India Company agrees,

that a piece of land yielding a sum equal to the estimated value of the said claims of the Mahratta state, shall be deducted from the districts ceded by article 4th And on the same principle, and from similar considerations, his Highness further agrees, that the amount of the collections made for the Poonah state, under the title of Nagabundy, in the Purgunnahs of Chourassy and Chickly shall be ascertained, by an average taken from the receipts of a certain number of years, or by such other mode of calculation as may be determined on , and his said Highness doth further agree, for himself, his heirs, and successors, to relinquish for ever the Nagabundy collections aforesaid, and they shall accordingly cease from the conclusion of this treaty, and it is agreed and stipulated that a piece of land yielding a sum equal to the amount of the said Nagabundy collections, shall be deducted from the districts ceded by article 4th, in the same manner as stipulated in regard to the Choute of Surat

*Article 11th* —Whereas it has been usual for his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder to enlist and retain in his service Europeans of different countries, his said Highness hereby agrees and stipulates, that in the event of War breaking out between the English and any European nation, and of discovery being made that any European or Europeans in his service belonging to such nation at war with the English, shall have meditated injury towards the English, or have entered into intrigues hostile to their interest, such European or Europeans, so offending, shall be discharged by his said Highness, and not suffered to reside in his dominions

*Article 12th* —Inasmuch as, by the present treaty, the contracting parties are bound in a general defensive alliance, for mutual defence and protection against all enemies, his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder consequently engages, never to commit any act of personal hostility and aggression against his Highness the Nabob Asoph Jah Bahauder, or any of the Honourable Company's allies or dependants, or against any of the principal branches of the Mahratta



Empire or against any power whatever and in the event of differences arising whatever adjustment the Company's Government weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine, shall meet with full approbation and acquiescence

*Article 13th*—And whereas certain differences referring to past transactions are known to subsist between the Sirkar of his Highness Rao Pundit Pordhaun Bahauder and the Sirkar of his Highness the Nabob Asoph Jah Bahauder and whereas an amicable adjustment of those differences must be highly desirable for the welfare and benefit of both the said Sirkars his Highness Rao Pundit Pordhaun Bahauder with a view to the above end agrees and accordingly binds himself his heirs and successors to fulfil and conform to the stipulations of the treaty of Mahr and his Highness Rao Pundit Pordhaun Bahauder further agrees that on the basis of the fulfilment of the said treaty of Mahr and of the claims of his Highness the Nabob Asoph Jah Bahauder to be totally exempted from the payment of Choute the Honourable Company's Government shall be entitled to arbitrate and determine all such points as may be in doubt or difference between the Sirkars of their Highnesses above mentioned; and his Highness Rao Pundit Pordhaun Bahauder further agrees that in the event of any differences arising between his government and that of his Highness the Nabob Asoph Jah Bahauder at any future period the particulars of such differences shall be communicated to the Honourable East India Company before any act of hostility shall be committed on either side and the said Honourable Company in terposing their mediation in a way suitable to rectitude friendship and union and mindful of justice and established usage shall apply themselves to the adjustment of all such differences conformable to propriety and truth and shall bring the parties to a right understanding And it is further agreed, that whatever adjustment of any such differences the Company's Government, weighing things in the scale of truth

and justice, shall determine, that determination shall without hesitation or objection, meet with the full approbation and acquiescence of both parties. It is however agreed, that this stipulation shall not prevent any amicable negotiations which the Honourable Company and the Courts of Poonah and Hyderabad, respectively may be desirous of opening, provided no such negotiation shall be carried on between any of the three parties, without full communication thereof to each other.

*Article 14th* —Whereas a treaty of friendship and alliance has been concluded between the Honourable Company and Rajah Anund Row Guickwar Bahauder, and whereas the said treaty was mediated and executed, without any intention that it should infringe any of the just rights or claims of his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder affecting the Sirkars of the said Rajah, his said Highness adverting thereto, and also to the intimate alliance now established between the contracting parties, doth hereby formally acknowledge the existence of the said treaty between the Honourable Company and Rajah Anund Row Guickwar Bahauder, and inasmuch as, by reason of certain unfinished transactions, the conclusion of which has been suspended from time to time, various demands and papers of accounts are found to subsist between the Government of his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder and the Sirkar of the Rajah aforementioned, his said Highness, placing full reliance on the impartiality, truth, and justice of the British Government, doth hereby agree, that the said Government shall examine into, and finally adjust, the said demands and papers of accounts, and his said Highness further stipulates and binds himself, his heirs, and successors, to abide by such adjustment as the British Government shall accordingly determine.

*Article 15* —The contracting parties will employ all practicable means of conciliation to prevent the calamity of war, and for that purpose will, at all times, be ready to enter into amicable explanations with other states, and to cultivate

and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the powers of India according to the true spirit and tenor of this defensive treaty But if a war should unfortunately break out between the contracting parties and any other power whatever then his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder engages that with the reserve of two battalions of Sepoys which are to remain near his Highness's person the residue of the British subsidiary force consisting of four battalions of Sepoys with their artillery joined by six thousand infantry and ten thousand horse of his Highness's own troops and making together an army of ten thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry with the requisite train of artillery and warlike stores of every kind shall be immediately put in motion for the purpose of opposing the enemy and his Highness likewise engage to employ every further effort in his power for the purpose of bringing into the field as speedily as possible the whole force which he may be able to supply from his dominions with a view to the effectual prosecution and speedy termination of the said war The Honourable Company in the same manner engage on their parts in this case to employ in active operation against the enemy the largest force they may be able to furnish over and above the said subsidiary force

*Article 16th*—Whenever war shall appear probable his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder engages to collect as many Brinjaries as possible and to stow as much grain as may be practicable in his frontier garrisons

*Article 17th*—As by the present treaty the union and friendship of the two states is so firmly connected, that they may be considered as one and the same his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder engages neither to commence nor to pursue in future any negotiations with any other power whatever without giving previous notice and entering into mutual consultation with the Honourable East India Company's Government and the Honourable Company's Government, on their parts hereby declare that they have

no manner of concern with any of his Highness's children, relations, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom his Highness is absolute.

*Article 18th*—Inasmuch as, by the present treaty of general defensive alliance, the ties of union are, with the blessing of God, so closely drawn, that the interests of the two states are become identified, it is further mutually agreed that if disturbances shall at any time break out in the districts ceded to the Honourable Company by this agreement, his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder shall permit such a proportion of the subsidiary troops, as may be requisite, to be employed in quelling the same within the said districts. If disturbances shall, at any time, break out in any part of his Highness's dominions contiguous to the Company's frontier, to which it might be inconvenient to detach any proportion of the subsidiary force, the British Government, in like manner, if required by his Highness Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder, shall direct such proportion of the troops of the Company, as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose, to assist in quelling the said disturbances within his Highness's dominions.

*Article 19th*—It is finally declared, that this treaty, which, according to the foregoing articles, is meant for the support and credit of his said Highness's Government, and to preserve it from loss and decline, shall last as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged, at Bassein,  
the 31st of December, Anno Domini  
1802, or the 5th of Ramzaun, Anno  
Higeræ 1217

A true Copy,

B CLOSE,  
Resident at Poona

Ratified by the Governor General in Council  
11 February 1803

*Schedule of the Territories ceded in perpetuity by His Highness  
Rajee Rao Ragonaut Pandit Purdhaun Bahauder to the Hon-  
ourable English East India Company agreeably to the fourth  
Article of the annexed Treaty*

1st. From the province of Guzerat and territories south thereof Dundooka together with Choola Komapoor and Gogo	1 05 000
Cambay Choute and Nassoor	60,000
South of the Taptie Purnair 27 000 Bootseer 6 200	
Banwanny 8 800 Balsur 85 000 Parchole, 1 07 000	
Soopa 51 000 Sarbaun 30 000 Wallow 30 000 Bamdoo	
Kushah 7 900 Waunsda Choute 7 000 Durumpoor	
Choute 9,000 Surat Choute, 42 100 Customs 83 000	
Between the Taptie and Nerbuddah Oolpah 3 16 000	
Hansood 85 000 Octisier 78 000 Nundary 65,000 Total	
south of the Taptie and between Taptie and Nerbuddah	
10 38 000 Deduct twenty per cent. on account of decrease	
of revenue 2 07 600 Nahabundy of Chourassy and Chickley	8,30,400
20 000 Phoolparra Coomarna Cattergom 5,000	25 000
2nd. From the territories near the Toombuddrah	
Savanore 26 Talooks 10,22 838 from Bankapoor 5 56 762	15 79 600
GRAND TOTAL	6 00 000

Signed, sealed and exchanged at Bassein  
31st December Anno Domini 1802 or  
the 5th Ramzan Anno Higeree 1217

A true Copy B CLOSE.

SUPPLEMENTAL TO THE TREATY OF BASSEIN, 1803

A treaty consisting of nineteen articles was concluded at Bassein between the Honourable English East India Company Bahauder and his highness the Paishwa Badjee Rao Ragonaut Pandit Pndhaun Bahauder The following articles of engagement are now agreed on and settled as supplemental to the said Treaty by Lieutenant Colonel Barry Close on the part of the said Honourable Company and Anund Rao Vakeel on the part of the said Rao Pandit Purdaun Bahauder under full power and authority granted to them respectively for the purpose

*Article 1st* —That of the territory ceded in perpetuity to the Honourable East India Company by the said treaty of Bassein, the country of Savenore, and Taalooks of Bancapoor, in the Carnatic, yielding an annual revenue of sixteen lacks of Rupees, shall be restored, in perpetuity, to the Sircar of the said Rao Pandit Purdhaun Bahauder

*Article 2nd* —That of the territory ceded in perpetuity to the English East India Company by the treaty of Bassein, the Purgunnah of Oolpah, in Guzerat, yielding a revenue annually of three lacks and sixteen thousand Rupees, shall likewise be restored, in perpetuity, to the Sircar of the said Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder, in order that it may be restored to Nursing Khundy Rao, who has served the Sircar with fidelity and attachment

*Article 3rd* —That a regiment of native cavalry, of the same strength and complement as the cavalry regiments belonging to the Hyderabad subsidiary force, shall be added to the British Poona subsidiary force

*Article 4th* —In the fifteenth article of the treaty of Bassein it is stipulated, that ten thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry, with a due proportion of ordnance and military stores shall be furnished by the said Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder, and in addition thereto, such further force as the Sircar of the said Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder should be able to bring into the field This stipulation is now annulled, and, in lieu thereof, it is agreed and covenanted, that in time of war the said Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder shall appoint and furnish five thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry, with a due proportion of ordnance and military stores, and, in addition thereto, such further force as the said Rao Pundit Purdhaun Bahauder shall be able to bring into the field

*Article 5th* —That a corps of Mahratta cavalry, amounting to five thousand, shall be maintained by the British Government during the present war, for the service of the Poona State, under the orders of the British Government, of which five thousand horse, two thousand shall serve with his Highness the

Palshwa, and the remaining three thousand with the British army in the field and in the said five thousand Mahratta cavalry are not to be included the Mahratta troops serving with the British army under the chieftains Bapoojee Gunneis Punt Geklah and Sudojee Rao Nimalcar which troops shall continue to be subsisted at the charge of Ran Pundit Pundhaun Bahauder

*Article 6th* —By the first and second articles of this agreement territory yielding an annual revenue of 19 16,000 rupees, is restored to the Sircar of Ran Pundit Pundhaun Bahauder in lieu thereof and for the purposes hereafter mentioned the said Rao Pundit Pundhaun Bahauder agrees and stipulates to cede, in perpetuity to the honourable English East India Company from the province of Bundelcund conquered for the Poona State by Ali Bahauder territory yielding an estimated annual revenue of 36 16 000 rupees agreeably to the following detail

1 In lieu of the country of Savenore and Taalooksof Bunca poor in the Carnatic and the Purgunnah of Oolpah in Guzerat a tract of territory yielding an annual revenue of 19 16 000 rupees

2 On account of the stated high value of Oolpah a tract of territory yielding an annual revenue of 50 000 rupees in excess for that Purgunnah

3 To bear the entire expense of the regiment of cavalry mentioned in article III a tract of territory yielding an annual revenue of 7 50,000 rupees

4 To serve as an equivalent for the expense to be incurred by the British Government, in paying and maintaining during the present war the five thousands cavalry mentioned in article V a tract of territory yielding an annual revenue of 5,00 000 rupees and lastly a tract of territory yielding an annual revenue of 4,00 000 rupees to meet the extraordinary expense which the British Government must be subject to in establishing its authority in Bundelcund which is disturbed and ravaged by rebels who must be subdued and punished

Total ceded from Bundelcund 36 16,000 rupees

*Article 7th* —The whole of the foregoing territory, ceded, as above, from Bundelcund to the Honourable English East India Company, shall be taken from those quarters of the province most contiguous to the British possessions, and in every respect most convenient for the British Government

*Article 8th* —Inasmuch as the Purgunnah of Oolpah was particularly valuable to the Honourable Company's Government, by reason of its proximity to the city of Surat, in the prosperity of which the British Government bears an anxious concern, it is accordingly agreed and stipulated, that the said Purgunnah of Oolpah shall be so managed and governed, at all times, by the Mahratta authority, as to conduce to the convenience of the said city, by attention to the rules of good neighbourhood, and the promotion of an amicable and commercial intercourse between the inhabitants of both sides. And inasmuch as the sovereignty of the river Taptee doth belong to the British Government, it is accordingly agreed and covenanted, that the Mahratta authority in Oolpah shall have no right or concern whatever in the wreck of any vessel that may be cast upon any part of the Oolpah territory, connecting with the said river Taptee, but be bound, in the event of any such wreck, to render the vessel all practicable aid, for which the parties assisting shall be entitled to receive from the owners of the wreck a just and reasonable compensation

Signed, sealed, and exchanged, at Poona,  
the 16th December, Anno Domini 1803,  
or the 1st Ramzaun, Anno Higeræ 1218

Ratified by the Governor-General in Council, the  
7th January, 1804

## 2 POLICY OF THE TREATY OF BASSEIN

(a) The Honourable G. H. Barlow, Esq to the Marquess Wellesley.

*Approval of the policy of the Treaty*

(Private)

July 12, 1803.

My Lord,

I do myself the honour of enclosing the draft of a note to your Excellency, which I had prepared this morning. I trust you will



excuse my sending it in an almost illegible state, and on scraps of paper I had intended to copy it fair, but it had extended to a greater length than I had expected and not being very well I do not feel myself quite equal to the task. In its present state it will I trust answer equally well the purpose of conveying to your Excellency what has occurred to me on the subject of the question discussed yesterday.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect  
your Excellency's most faithful and obedient servant

G H BARLOW

(Enclosure)

Conceiving it may be satisfactory to your Lordship to know what has occurred to me on a deliberate consideration of the important question discussed yesterday I shall do myself the honour of stating the result. No doubt was entertained as far as related to the question of right and justice, that the British Government was at full liberty to prosecute the present plan of measures or to declare the alliance with the Peishwa void. If any difficulty existed with regard to this branch of the question it was to assign reasons for declaring the alliance at an end without hazarding an impeachment of our good faith.

It only remained therefore to determine whether good policy required our persevering or withdrawing under the unexpected circumstances of the total inability of the Peishwa to fulfil his part of the engagements of the probability of hostilities with France of the part taken by the Rajah of Berar and the confederacy formed between Scindiah the Rajah of Berar and Holkar of the certainty of the approaching dissolution of the Nizam and of the nature of the orders received from England.

If we abandon the alliance and withdraw our forces, (whatever may be the reasons we may assign for the measure) no other construction will be given both by friends and enemies to this change of policy but this that we were at least doubtful of the success of the impending military

operations They will never believe that in the present advanced stage of the business, and after all the declarations which have been made by our ministers at the Mahratta courts, that we should abandon a plan which has been pursued with unremitting perseverance for a course of years, and the advantages of which to our interests are so obvious, but from an apprehension of our inability to repel the opposition which has been raised to the consolidation of our alliance with the Peishwa What will be the effect of this impression on the minds of our friends and enemies? Our friends will no longer entertain their present implicit confidence in our power and protection, and our enemies will make all India resound with shouts of triumph at our having yielded the field to them The mischievous consequences which must be produced by this change in the sentiments of the states of India with respect to the British power, cannot be calculated

But is it certain, in the event of our withdrawing our forces, that we should be allowed to retain the countries ceded to us by the Peishwa to indemnify us for the expense of the measures undertaken for his support? Is it not to be apprehended that the power which might succeed in usurping the authority of the Poonah Government, would endeavour to compel us to relinquish those countries by committing continued depredations in them, in the confidence that the same motives which induced us to avoid war when our armies were in the field, and in the most advantageous positions, would influence us still more strongly, when we had to collect those armies again, and which the operations of the most successful campaign could not be expected to place in their present advantageous positions? There is no conjecturing to what lengths the presumptuous character of the Mahrattas might impel them under such circumstances Thus we might be compelled to go to war under the disadvantages of loss of national character, and of limited means, and probably after having afforded to the French an opportunity of connecting themselves as auxiliaries with some of the Mahratta states.

Should this be the result, the Government would incur a heavy load of responsibility in England. Its conduct would be first censured for engaging in the alliance, next for withdrawing from it, and lastly for placing itself in a situation which reduced it to the alternative of engaging in a war under the disadvantages above stated or of sacrificing the national character by relinquishing the retained territories.

With respect to the expected death of the Nizam supposing the Mahrattas or any of the disaffected members of the Nizam's family to have it in contemplation to take advantage of that event to destroy our connection with the Court of Hyderabad our armies in the Deccan could not be more favourably stationed than they are at present for the purpose of frustrating any such designs. If such designs are entertained I am persuaded it would have been your Lordship's duty to have called the same armies into the field supposing no alliance had been concluded with the Peishwa.

With respect to the French supposing the present questions in Europe not to lead to an immediate rupture we are now certain that the whole course of their policy has for its object the subversion of the British empire in India and that at no distant period of time they will put their plans into execution. It is absolutely necessary for the defeat of these designs that no native state should be left to exist in India which is not upheld by the British power or the political conduct of which is not under its absolute control. The restoration of the head of the Mahratta empire to his Government through the influence of the British power in fact, has placed all the remaining states of India in this dependent relation to the British Government. If the alliance with the Peishwa is maintained its natural and necessary operations would in the course of time reduce Scindiah (the power which may already be said to be in the interest of France) and the Rajah of Berar to a state of dependence upon the Peishwa, and consequently upon the British power,

even if they had acquiesced in the treaty of Bassein. But their unjust opposition to this treaty affords us an opportunity of at once reducing their power to a state that will remove every obstacle to the consolidation of the alliance with the Peishwa, and to the attainment of all its advantages. When can we hope for another opportunity equally favourable, or (under all the probable consequences of withdrawing from the alliance,) when can we hope to have all India again at our command? With respect to the chiefs combined against us, have we any reasonable ground to apprehend that we shall not prevail in the contest? The Guicowar state (always considered to form a considerable part of the strength of the Mahratta empire,) is actively employed in our support. The Peishwa, although unable from imbecility of character, to command with effect the resources at his disposal, is with us. We have the aid and countenance of his authority, and his territories to the south of the Godavery friendly to our cause, at least more so than to that of our enemies. Scindiah, therefore, is the only chief who possesses the means of making any serious opposition. We know that the Rajah of Berar possesses neither military knowledge nor military resources. We also know that Holkar's army consists of a body of plunderers, and that he has no means of maintaining a contest of any duration. Our army, well equipped, has established itself within the heart of the dominions of these chiefs, and within a few marches of their camp, where they are collected without money, resources or provisions, and where there is every prospect we shall destroy or disperse their whole force at one blow. It is scarcely possible that their military power could be placed in circumstances more favourable for our effecting its destruction.

With respect to the solicitude expressed in England for carrying into effect the plan for paying off the debt in the next six years, we can estimate with tolerable accuracy to what degree the execution of that plan is likely to be interrupted by a perseverance in the present course of measures in the

Mahratta empire This interruption is likely to be less in extent and duration than that which may be expected from abandoning the alliance with the Peshwa if there is any foundation for the conjectures which I have stated as to the probable consequences of that measure Every year would probably produce some of those calamities which would inevitably attend our declining power and influence and we cannot conjecture what would be our situation at the expiration of six years On the other hand if we persevere in the present measures and succeed we are certain not only that the existing debt with the addition to it which may be occasioned by the prosecution of the present measures will be extinguished within the expected time but that the British power will be established throughout India in prosperity glory and security

The conviction of the justice and wisdom of the line of policy which your Excellency has pursued with respect to the Mahratta empire, is more strongly impressed on my mind in proportion as I consider it in all its relations I am confident that the line of policy is entitled to this character whether considered with reference to the discharge of the debt to the augmentation of the investment or the other objects which the authorities in England have in view to the true interests of the Mahratta chiefs to the happiness of the millions of wretched people who inhabit the countries subjected to their power to the exclusion of the French to the honour and reputation of our national character or to the stability of the British empire in India

(c) Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control,  
to the Marquess Wellesley

Whitehall March 4th, 1804

My dear Lord

The Bombay letters of the 26th July announcing the probability of a rupture with the Mahrattas induced me to read over carefully our negotiations with the Court of Poonah for

a series of years, which from a variety of other important subjects pressing upon my attention, I had till then omitted to do

The outline of the opinion I have been led to form upon this subject will be conveyed to your Lordship in a despatch through the Secret Committee, but I should not feel satisfied in differing from your Lordship on some points of policy, as connected with the late treaty, if I did not put you in possession of the grounds upon which my opinions are founded, I am induced therefore without attempting to throw the substance into the form of a letter, to send you without reserve, my sentiments in the precise form in which they were first thrown together, trusting to their being not less acceptable to your Lordship so conveyed, than if transmitted in a more formal shape

I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord, with great regard,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

CASTLEREAGH

*[Enclosure in Lord Castlereagh's letter to the Marquess Wellesley of the 4th of March, 1804]*

The question now depending between the British power and the Mahrattas is one of great difficulty and importance

What directions it may be expedient ultimately to give from home must depend on the precise issue of the present discussions, whatever might have been originally wise as a rule of conduct may now require modification, with reference to *events, to engagements*, and to the *collateral effects* to be apprehended from any particular course we may take

The next advices from India will probably ascertain whether the discussions have ended in actual war, in a jealous truce, still requiring the presence of a British army, or, in that apparent acquiescence on the part of the Mahrattas, which may lead the Governor-General to consider the professed objects of the treaty have been accomplished, and induce him to

return the troops (with the exception of the subsidizing force) to their respective cantonments

It may be expedient in the meantime to examine—1st The abstract policy of what has been aimed at. 2ndly How far it has been judiciously pursued and 3dly whether the Governor General has exceeded his legal authority or gone beyond the instructions under which if his own authority were inadequate his powers were derived

1st As to the policy of a connexion with the Mahrattas

In considering this question it is material to *ascertain precisely* what the *nature* of the connexion is at which we have aimed The professed end in view is, a *defensive alliance and guarantee* connecting the Mahrattas with the Nizam and the Company and through that league *preserving the peace of India*

Although the apprehension of remote danger from French influence acting through the Mahratta confederacy is stated as a collateral object to be thus provided against yet the main policy of the system as relied upon is its *pacific tendency*

On this ground it must principally be tried the British power in India is too firmly consolidated at this moment and the prospect of attack from any quarter too remote to justify us in prudence in risking a war with a view of providing against a danger merely speculative.

The British empire in India may be considered (including allies and dependents) as comprehending nearly everything in Hindostan (the Mahratta possessions excepted) In addition to our old possessions in Bengal and on the coast recently strengthened by the treaties which have placed the whole of the Carnatic and a large proportion of Oude under our immediate administration we have by two wars equally just and successful bound up the entire of Mysore in our dominions, and by a negotiation conducted with great ability and wisely undertaken, expelled French influence from Hyderabad and connected the Nizam indissolubly with our interests

Whatever questions may have been hitherto raised *on the justice* of our conduct towards certain dependent states, upon the *policy* of our measures (always assuming them to be founded in justice) so far as concerns the consolidation of our authority in the Carnatic, in Tanjore, and in Oude, the reduction of the power of Tippoo, and the intimate connexion established with the Nizam no well founded doubt can be entertained

Considering this as the well established sphere at this day of the British power in India, the next step towards a close connexion with another power, and that power necessarily involved in the complicated relations of the Mahratta confederacy, is a question of critical and delicate policy

The idea upon which the treaty of Bassein was concluded, seems originally to have arisen out of, and to have been founded upon the connexion subsisting, previously to the conquest of Mysore, between the Company, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, by the treaty concluded 1790, at Poonah

The object of this league was to watch and guard against the power of Tippoo. The treaty was defective, inasmuch as it did not specify, except with respect to the war then existing, the amount of force which the allies were bound to furnish to each other, nor did it *in terms* bind their heirs and successors, which led to cavils on the part of the Peishwa

It gave us however, in Lord Cornwallis's war ending in 1792, the advantage of considerable succours both from the Nizam and the Peishwa against Tippoo

Upon the peace of Seringapatam, Hurry Punt pressed Lord Cornwallis to let the Peishwa subsidize in future a corps of British troops in like manner as the Nizam then did. Whether he was so authorized by the Peishawa is not known

Lord Cornwallis, although the Mahratta General urged it strongly (stating that to refuse was acting towards them with less friendship than towards the Nizam) declined the proposal, thinking it hazardous to mix ourselves in the unsettled policy of the Mahratta states, and that the principles,



upon which it had been thought wise to connect ourselves with the Nizam (regard being had to the resources and position of his dominions and also to the hazard of his being thrown into the hands of Tippoo if not connected with the Company) did not apply to the state of Poonah neither did he at that time think it essential to our general security having materially reduced the power of Tippoo to aim at establishing a commanding influence at Poonah

Whether an acquiescence in Hurry Punt's proposal would have guarded against the decay of the Peishwa's power which afterwards happened it is difficult now to determine but we find that previously to the war of 1798-9 against Tippoo both the Peishwa and the Nizam were so reduced in authority the former by the ascendancy of Scindiah the latter by a strong French faction in his army as to render it very little probable that the Company in the event of a rupture with Tippoo could hope to derive any efficient aid from the alliance

The object of the Company was then to strengthen its allies in order that they might be in a situation to fulfil their engagements Scindiah's purpose was to weaken the Peishwa and to get the power at Poonah into his own hands. Hence arose a jealousy between Scindiah and the Company which produced a proportionate union of interest between him and Tippoo The number of French officers in the armies of Scindiah Tippoo and of the Nizam rendered the danger very serious of a formidable combination of the native powers against us supported by France

In this state of things Lord Wellesley wisely determined to use every expedient to revive our influence and authority both at the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad A British force was offered the Peishwa to protect his person and re-establish his government, and an augmentation of the subsidary force was proposed to the Nizam

Under a variety of pretences, evidently resulting from a jealousy of our power as well as that of Scindiah our offer

was declined by the Peishwa. What then occurred is noticed here principally to mark *the jealousy* which even then disinclined the Peishwa to place himself in our hands, as well as to point out the strong defensive policy, which warranted us to risk much for the purpose of giving vigour and consistency to the only alliance on which we could reckon against the hostile confederacy with which we were threatened.

The result was that we derived no support from the Mahrattas in the last Mysore war, our connection with the Nizam was improved, the French force in his Highness's service finally destroyed, and a commanding British corps established in its room.

The termination of the war in the conquest of Mysore, and the absolute extinction of French influence in that quarter of India as well as at Hyderabad, placed the Mahratta question entirely on new grounds.

Hitherto a connection with the Mahrattas had been sought as a defence against Tippoo and the French influence generally. The fall of Tippoo and the extinction of the French party in Mysore and Hyderabad leaving only what was to be found in Scindiah's army, as any object of jealousy, put an end to the importance as a means of necessary and immediate security of a connection with the Mahrattas.

From this time it could not be argued to be of *pressing necessity*. The most that could be contended for was, its being desirable on grounds of general expediency, and as tending to guard against remote and contingent dangers, we were certainly justified in risking less to accomplish it.

It was reasonable also to suppose, that in proportion as our power had been increased and consolidated, and as that of Tippoo was absolutely extinguished, the Mahrattas would entertain additional jealousy of any subsidiary connection with us.

We find accordingly, after the peace, that upon the Peishwa being invited to accede to the treaty of Hyderabad, upon

which condition we should have deemed him entitled to a certain share in the conquered territories, he declined the proposal evidently from indisposition to receive a British force within his dominions

Between that period and the treaty of Bassein several attempts were made by us to induce him to enter into subsidiary engagements with us. The same was proposed to the Rajah of Berar and an opening left in the treaty of Hyderabad of 1800 for Scindiah to accede on certain terms but the connection was declined by all

The Peishwa when most oppressed and in danger from Scindiah proceeded considerable lengths in entertaining the proposition of a subsidiary alliance but always resisted the idea of the subsidiary force being stationed *within his dominions*. Even with this qualification our connection was an alternative which the Peishwa never latterly shewed any disposition to adopt but under the pressure of extreme embarrassment and it is even doubtful whether he was ever really sincere in the proposition he made as his system invariably was to play off Scindiah and us against each other and his overtures were generally accompanied by some stipulation which he had reason to suppose would not be acceded to by the Governor General

If the connection after the fall of Tippoo became of less pressing necessity doubts may be entertained of the policy of appearing to pursue the objects with such unremitting anxiety. It will be necessary hereafter to examine under what circumstances a Mahratta alliance would or would not be desirable but if the early conclusion of it was not of urgent importance to our immediate security it might perhaps have been more successfully accomplished under a system of *more reserve* on our part

The eagerness with which we appeared to press our connection upon all the leading states in succession might naturally lead them to apprehend that we meant more than we avowed, that our object was ultimately to be masters instead

of allies, and that, having obtained either possession of, or absolute influence over every state, except the Mahrattas, with whom we had been in connection, our object was to obtain a similar influence over *their* councils

Under whatever estimate of our views it may have been formed, the fact is indisputable, that the general repugnance to the British connection on the terms proposed universally prevailed amongst the great Mahratta powers. It was avoided by all as long as they had any choice. It was only embraced by the Peishwa, when an exile from his dominions, and the jealousy of it was such as to have since led Holkar and Scindiah to forget their animosities, and to appear disposed to league with the Rajah of Berar against the Company and the Peishwa. How long the Peishwa will continue faithful to engagements which were contracted from necessity and not from choice, in opposition to the other Mahratta states, is yet to be seen.

The practical question to be considered is, whether an alliance formed under such circumstances can rest upon any other foundation than mere force, and if not, whether the means by which it is to be upheld, are not destructive of its professed advantages.

Supposing Holkar, Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar adverse, and the Peishwa acquiescent, but in his heart not cordially satisfied, can we expect that the subsidiary force alone will enable us to maintain our influence at Poonah?

If such be the *unqualified feeling* of the Mahratta states to a connection with us upon the principles on which the present has been formed, unless we are prepared to establish ourselves by conquest in that quarter of India, it seems necessary either to abandon the connection (if it can be abandoned consistent with a due regard to our engagements), or to modify it (should such be practicable) so as to reconcile at least a proportion of the Mahratta states.

It appears hopeless to attempt to govern the Mahratta empire through a feeble and perhaps disaffected Peishwa .

The military power of the state of Poonah is at present inconsiderable

It may be said the military power of the Peishwa under our protection may be consolidated and restored and other states may be gradually reconciled to the alliance Both these results may be possible but the true question is whether they are probable in such a degree and whether they are likely to occur within such a reasonable period of time and to be accomplished with so little hazard of expence as to make it politic to persevere against present opposing difficulties? Is the future effect likely to add so much to our prospects in point of security and tranquillity as to counterbalance the immediate inconveniences of war with the several Mahratta powers?

In examining this the motive to alliance must be reverted to Whatever may be the disposition amongst the Mahratta states to plunder each other they have hitherto respected our territory They have seldom even levied contribution on the Nizam notwithstanding the disputed claims for Choute, &c since his close connection with us

The Mahrattas have never in any instance commenced hostilities against us When by taking part in their internal disputes we have been at war with any of the Mahratta states they have always availed themselves of the first opening for peace, and have shewn forbearance and humanity to a British army more than once when in difficulty So far then as past experience goes there seems no special ground to apprehend future danger from the Mahrattas The French officers in Scindiah's army are just objects of jealousy and their mixing themselves in the affairs of the native powers must be watched and be matter of alarm in proportion to the degree in which it takes place, and as those states are *near* to or *remote* from our possessions but this alone cannot render the alliance prudent nor is this danger at present of a magnitude to call for the adoption of a system, otherwise of dubious policy

*As far as the Mahratta interests are concerned, what motive can they have in acquiescing in the ostensible head of their empire being placed in our hands?*

Whatever we may hold out to reconcile the Peishwa to the alliance, and however we may profess to respect his independence in the management of his own internal affairs, we cannot deny that in fact as well as in appearance, whilst a British army is at Poonah, he can be considered in no other light than as *politically dependent on us*

The Mahratta contentions between the leading states have been chiefly for influence at Poonah. To obtain this, Holkar attacked Scindiah. Having been deprived of this, Scindiah abandoned the Peishwa, and seems prepared to join his greatest enemy. The same motives which before opposed them to each other now oppose them both to us, and the Berar Rajah, perhaps with views to supplant the Peishwa, and with common feelings of jealousy, joins the confederacy.

What will reconcile them to a different course? To talk to them of the advantage of our guarantee for preserving the peace of Hindostan, assumes that the genius of their government is *industrious* and *peaceful*, instead of being *predatory* and *warlike*, nor is it to be expected that independent states, especially of the description in question, can feel any disposition to make us, or any other great power, an arbiter of their destiny.

We not only place the Peishwa as a prey out of their reach, but we declare our purpose is to prevent them from plundering each other. They wish to be unrestrained in carrying their arms wherever they can derive advantage. Temporary distress may make them in their turn accept our support. Were it given as a temporary assistance it would frequently *be sought for*, and, as far as their means would go, *paid for*, but when it is to be given *permanently, or not at all*, it will only be accepted when no other resource remains. It will be avoided by each state exempt from the pressure, when the danger is gone by it will be disrelished by the state which

has submitted to it, and ultimately we must either alter the genius of the various states or rely upon our arms alone for the preservation of our authority.

To aim at a connection with the Mahratta powers on these grounds is to say the least, extremely hazardous. It is evidently against the grain. It may be difficult and expensive to be established, not less so to be maintained, and as it must when accomplished rest *on our authority and arms*, rather than the disposition of our allies. It must practically operate as an extension of our own dominions.

Such a result we disavow as our object. In principle as well as in policy we are bound by the law of the land to abstain from it, and it certainly would be a hazardous project to embark in the management of this half-civilized people, in addition to the widely extended empire of which we are now possessed. If we are not prepared to contemplate such a purpose we should avoid being gradually led into a course of measures the tendency of which leads to such a result, a their natural consequence.

Is there then no connection with any of the Mahratta states at which in policy we should aim?

It does not follow, because an alliance which places a British force in immediate contact with a weak Mahratta power, and that power the supreme head of the empire in opposition to the will of all the stronger states, is unwise and dangerous, that no relation can be established between the British power and certain states of that empire, which may have a tendency to protect our interests against such dangers as might otherwise arise *from* or operate *through* that confederacy.

It may however be asserted that to be either safe or useful it must be formed on a broader basis than the present, and as the British power, from its magnitude, must now have become a more natural object of jealousy to the Mahratta states than any other, it is not probable that any considerable portion of the Mahratta confederacy will be disposed to

connect themselves with us, unless we can present to them that connection in a shape less inconsistent with their natural propensities and independence than the late treaty

When jealousy is once strongly aroused, any arrangement is become of more difficulty. Whether it might have been feasible, must remain matter of speculation, but I can conceive if Holkar and Scindiah had been suffered to reduce each other, before a treaty had been proposed to the Peishwa, that a broader connection might have been formed, especially the introduction of the British force to be subsidized *into the dominions* of our allies had not been made a *sine qua non*

It may be said, if the treaty had not been pushed with the Peishwa when at Bassein, he might have refused it afterwards, possibly so, but it may be doubted whether the treaty so obtained was a benefit

The benefit as well as the necessity of a Mahratta connection has for the last four years been in my conception always overrated. The importance of not taking the whole of the burthen upon ourselves of restoring the Peishwa, appears to have been strongly felt by Lord Wellesley, and he accordingly after the conclusion of the treaty wished to hold back, and leave Holkar and Scindiah to weaken and reduce each other, but as the treaty could not be concealed from Scindiah and the other powers, the success of this course depended upon their sentiments with respect to the treaty itself. Our troops, however, were moved forward by Lord Clive's orders, before the result could be distinctly ascertained

Perhaps our safest line would have been to have received the Peishwa hospitably, to have professed a disposition to assist the other Mahratta powers in repressing Holkar's rebellion, and restoring the Peishwa to the Musnud, provided we found his Highness and his allies were disposed to connect themselves in interest with us

Had we remained with our army on the frontiers, pledged to neither party, and in a position to assist either, our aid must have been an object of competition to both



Neither had any claim upon us and consequently neither (whatever might be our opinion of the merits of their cause) had any right to expect our assistance without an equivalent. In postponing any negotiation with the Peishwa, till he could treat in conjunction with Scindiah we should have been able more correctly to estimate the grounds upon which we were proceeding

It is probable the Peishwa and Scindiah united could not have dislodged Holkar from Poonah without our aid. If so it lay upon them to offer terms to us. But then in treating with the Peishwa and Scindiah conjointly we left the Peishwa in Scindiah's hands as before. And why not? Our motive for interference was not any principle of attachment to the Peishwa or any claim he had upon us. It was with a view of establishing an influence in the Mahratta empire calculated to improve our general security and preserve the tranquillity of India. This could alone be effectually accomplished by a substantial and not a nominal connection which Scindiah and the Peishwa united might amount to but not the Peishwa singly.

The mistake appears to have been the following up too strictly the policy acted upon before the fall of Tippoo. Then we were obliged to endeavour to take the Peishwa out of Scindiah's hands inasmuch as the latter with a view of strengthening himself at Poonah leant to Tippoo and against us. Had we on the present occasion not manifested any particular jealousy of Scindiah but expressed a willingness to *receive proposals* for connecting ourselves with both and limited our views to what would *strengthen us* without either *in appearance or in fact* making them instruments in our hands I see no reason (if practicable at all) why a treaty with both might not have been made.

The main advantage of the treaty of Bassein I take to be the increased footing it gives us in the Guzarat. Our position at Poonah abstractedly considered appears to me more calculated to weaken our influence over the other states than

to strengthen us by the power to be found there, and I should (as at present informed) much prefer having the subsidiary force stationed at certain positions within our own territories than stationed in those of our ally

Had we concluded subsidiary engagements with both the Peishwa and Scindiah, obtaining the *laidad* as now in the quarter of Guzerat, the troops never to be moved into the territories of either state, except *upon requisition*, we should have obtained an increase of force and territory in our weakest quarter. The right to call for this force would have raised these states in the scale of the Mahratta powers, without exposing them to our unsolicited interference, and as all our subsidiary engagements have been made with a reserve as to the application of the troops against certain powers named, we should have possessed a salutary influence in the councils of our allies not incompatible with their independence

The history of our own connections in India affords instances of both descriptions of alliances. By the treaty of 1768 with the Nizam, explained by Lord Cornwallis's letter in 1789, we were bound to furnish to his Highness two battalions of Sepoys, and six pieces of cannon, when called upon so to do, but not otherwise. The treaty of 1798 increased the subsidiary force to six battalions, and that of 1800 to eight battalions, to be *stationed within* the Nizam's *dominions*

The former principle of connexion appears most suited to *remote* and *independent* states. The latter to a power which circumstances have nearly incorporated in policy and interest with our own

The former appears to me to be alone applicable to any portion of the Mahratta empire, consideration being had to its composition and nature, and also to *our position* with respect to it. The latter under the circumstances was wisely applied to the Nizam, substituting British in the room of French influence, and throwing the shield of our authority

over the state incapable in itself of preserving its territories against the continual incursions of the Mahrattas

It may be said had the Peishwa and Scindiah met they would have declined all permanent connection with us. Supposing this to have been the case there were other courses open to us without supporting an usurper in opposition to the Peishwa. We might either in conjunction with the Rajah of Berar have offered a *disinterested mediation* and thereby dispelled much of the alarm that had grown up as to *our views* or if we preferred co-operating with Scindiah in the restoration of the Peishwa without any permanent alliance we might have obtained I have no doubt, an ample territorial indemnity in the quarter of Guzerat for our *services* as well as our *expences*. At all events in preserving an army of observation on the frontier and not mixing ourselves in Mahratta politics except upon sure grounds if we gained no more than securing our own territory as well as that of our ally the Nizam from insult we escaped war whilst the Mahratta powers wasted their strength

I cannot but doubt the policy of our making from the outset the Peishwa our only or even our main object. The determination to take him out of the hands of Scindiah was from the first apparent if not avowed and from that moment if Scindiah could save himself by negotiation with his opponents he had every inducement to throw himself into the scale against us

His doing so rendered our success without a war extremely doubtful and more than any other circumstance rendered the Peishwa's fidelity to our alliance precarious

It remains to be considered whether as has been suggested the Governor General has exceeded his powers and lastly what instructions should now be given from hence for the future regulation of his conduct

The first question depends on his powers—1<sup>st</sup> Under the 42<sup>d</sup> section of the Act of 1793 2<sup>ndly</sup> Under his

instructions from home of the 10th of September 1800, and 4th of December of the same year

The law clearly gives him no authority to conclude any treaty binding the Company to guarantee the territories of any state, except that state shall at the same time bind itself to support the Company in a war then actually existing, or in the case of preparations then making for war against the Company. It has not been alledged that Holkar, when this treaty was made, had either committed, or meditated hostilities against us or our *allies*, the treaty of Bassein was therefore clearly not within the scope of the 42nd clause

•The next question is under his instructions. The instructions were necessarily general. The precise course pursued in acting upon them may in policy be questioned, but I think the Governor-General, as far as powers go, is clearly borne out in what he has done, regard being had to the tenor of those instructions, coupled with the recorded proceedings of his negotiations at the court of Poonah, of which the Government at home were from time to time put in possession, and which when acquiesced in, might be fairly considered by him as approved of, and consequently illustrative of those orders

The orders specifically approved of a subsidiary treaty with the Peishwa similar to that of the Nizam

They enjoined a large subsidiary force as indispensable, and assumed that the Peishwa must *tacitly renounce his independence*

In the letter of the 4th of December it is stated, that if by any arrangement *not likely to lead to hostilities*, the Peishwa could be relieved from the influence of Scindiah, it would be highly desirable, &c &c

In that of the 10th of September, the Governor-General's plan for establishing a subsidiary force at Poonah is approved of. *Caution* is recommended in *renewing the negotiation*, except at the instance of the court of Poonah, or at a *crisis*, when there can be no doubt of the proposition being accepted

Now although the alliance under a *reasonable apprehension of hostilities* is not authorized yet it would be too much to suppose that it could be concluded without *any risk* being incurred particularly as it was declared and clearly understood that nothing but the *last necessity* would induce the Peishwa to sign such a treaty and the object being to dispossess Scindiah of his influence at Poonah his opposition could not but be expected

In July 1800 the Peishwa fearing that his person might be seized by Scindiah vested certain persons with the power of signing a treaty for him

In this event of the flight or seizure of the Peishwa Lord Wellesley ordered the Resident to conclude a subsidiary treaty with him or those authorized on his part also the British troops to occupy the Mahratta districts south of the Kistna

This was a stronger case of risk than the present, as Scindiah then must have been forcibly driven from Poonah whereas the state of his own affairs lately afforded some prospect of his co operation and the chance of a rupture was more with Holkar an adventurer than with the established feudatories of the Mahratta empire

Early in May of the same year Lord Wellesley authorized the Resident at Poonah to conclude a secret treaty with the Peishwa in which the Company were to engage to *compel Scindiah* to remove from the Deccan and also to bind themselves to maintain the Peishwa *in his just rights and authority* over that chief and over the other acknowledged feudatories of the empire the Nizam and Rajah of Berar to be at liberty to accede

The latter is even a stronger proceeding In both the cases Scindiah was to be necessarily opposed In the latter absolutely forced Whereas previously to the treaty of Basseln our interference was solicited by all parties

It is not here the question whether the negotiation was judiciously conducted or whether the treaty in itself was the most advisable one that could have been framed under the

circumstances It is only meant in this part of the argument to state, that in the position wherein the Mahratta states then were placed with relation to each other, no *crisis* could have been found more propitious to the formation of a connexion if under any circumstances it were attainable

It is also contended, that under the words of his instructions and the mode in which he had acted under them on the above occasions with the acquiescence of the Government at home Lord Wellesley might reasonably consider himself as authorized to pursue the course he took

Whatever therefore there may be to criticize in respect to the policy aimed at, or the management of the negotiations, it cannot well be contended that Lord Wellesley's conduct should be called in question, as having acted in breach of the instructions sent him

Before we proceed to apply the principles heretofore laid down to the existing case, or to consider what orders it may be advisable to send from hence, it is material to mark, that the objections above-stated are not against any and every description of Mahratta connexion but against that which gives us the Peishwa alone, whilst it commits us in hostility with the three greatest military powers of the empire

It is also considered that no alliance which does not give us a majority of the preponderating chiefs of the confederacy in cordial connexion with us can in the long run prove of advantage, inasmuch as such an alliance will occasion frequent recurrence to arms, and place the discontented states more in a situation to be tampered with by France

That there is no reason, certainly none from experience, to suppose an alliance can ever be formed with the Mahrattas by a European power on principles destructive of the independence of any leading state, but more especially of the ostensible head of the Mahratta confederacy, without making all the other powers enemies, and even occasioning the fidelity of the allied state to be precarious,

That the Mahratta confederacy though the power of the Peishwa is imperfectly defined and feebly maintained is yet so far a body politic as to make the acts of each member a matter of common concern to all

That Lord Wellesley when he looked to treat secretly for the expulsion of Scindiah from Poonah in terms recognized a paramount power to reside in the Peishwa over Scindiah and the other Mahratta chieftains This paramount authority as head of the empire and not his individual strength could never have *suggested the policy* of looking principally to the Peishwa's connexion

If that be the case It is impossible to contend that the Peishwa can treat and act as a separate and independent state and whilst he retains and asserts his authority over the Mahratta feudatories submit himself in the management of his external concerns in a great degree to a foreign power If he does so yet he must do it at his peril and the other states will naturally consider how those acts are likely to affect their security or independence

An alliance with the Peishwa and Scindiah jointly under the circumstances which took place subsequent to the defeat of the confederate forces before Poonah perhaps might have been formed upon the basis of stationing the subsidiary force within our own territories liable to be called on under certain conditions by each power in proportion as it contributed the funds towards its maintenance and support *not restricting* either to a communication with us before he *concluded any treaty* for such stipulation where it is not *reciprocal* is upon the face of it an abrogation of independence but trusting *that* and every other question which might touch our interests to the legitimate influence gradually arising out of a connexion framed with a view to support and not extinguish the authority of the other contracting party and also to the known and acknowledged power of the British arms which it could never be their wish or their interest to provoke

If an alliance framed on principles compatible with the feelings of a large proportion of that empire could not be formed under the circumstances which then prevailed, when so many parties had the strongest motives for cultivating our support, it may be doubted whether a Mahratta connexion is to be accomplished on any grounds short of subjugation To subdue the Mahratta empire would be (if at all practicable) to charge ourselves with an incumbrance, and to bring ourselves in contact with neighbours much more troublesome, it would be sacrificing a tolerable barrier for one infinitely more precarious, and it must never be forgot, that were our object accomplished, of placing a subsidiary force of equal strength with that which the Peishwa is to receive under the treaty of Bassein, in the dominions of each of the four great military chieftains of the confederacy, we should be only permanently extending our native force to the amount of 24,000 men, without any assurance that the empire at home can spare us, *that additional proportion of European force*, which, whether actually making a part of the subsidiary corps or not, ought always invariably to accompany every encrease of our Indian army

Success therefore whether in war, or in negotiation, so long as we are *forcing*, and not *inviting this alliance*, however, for the time it may give a lustre to our authority, can only embark us in difficulties, from which it may be embarrassing to recede

The British empire in India contains above fifty millions of inhabitants, it produces a revenue of above thirteen millions sterling a year, encreasing with the general prosperity of the country at this moment rapidly advancing under the mild and benificent administration of the Company Our regular army native and European, on its peace establishment amounts to 115,000 men, a force capable of immediate extension in time of war With such an empire a Mahratta connexion may be a very good thing, if it can be had without mixing us too deeply in their internal disturbances, or leading to an extension of



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dominion beyond our purpose but we are too strong *to require it*. Our wisest policy is to place our dependence in that quarter on the consolidation and improvement of what we already possess. On the steady application of our resources to the reduction of our debt and approaching every native power possessed of and valuing its independence with offers of alliance and connexion (when any such are to be made) on grounds really compatible with that independence trust to the friends which such a course of conduct will make for us in the hour of trial it being little probable that any competitor for eastern dominion can deprive us of our share of alliances when the danger is at hand unless we ourselves by a mistaken course of policy lay the grounds before he approaches.

It has not been a matter of choice but of necessity that our existence in India should pass from that of traders to that of sovereigns. If we had not the French would long since have taken the lead in India to our exclusion.

In the various contentions for power in which our security was at the same time really involved we have risen to an extent of possession and authority which can no longer be safely permitted to rest on any other foundation than our own intrinsic strength. Events have latterly accelerated our progress so much as in itself (the rather as most political transactions will admit of question) to give an impression with respect to our policy which *if heightened* may be productive of serious embarrassment to our interests both at home and abroad. Without being disposed to admit or in truth feeling that the tenor of our administration in India has been otherwise than highly honourable to the national character I think it is material having already accomplished so much in point of *power* and glory that we should now be studious to give to our councils a complexion of moderation and forbearance trusting as we may safely do the preservation of our Indian possessions to the resources abundantly contained within our present limits.



other powers If the reasoning contained in the former part of these notes is right doubts may be entertained of the policy of a connection with the Poonah state which is necessarily calculated to mix the British Government so intimately in Mahratta politics and must in appearance render the Peishwa absolutely dependent on us

As far as relates to arbitrating the differences between the Nizam and the Peishwa as allies of the Company we were bound to contend for it under the treaty of Hyderabad of 1800 but beyond this having provided that our troops were not to be employed *against any of the principal branches of the Mahratta empire* it would perhaps be better not to stipulate for a right which being general may alarm other states and cannot be very acceptable even to the Peishwa himself but rather to rely for the means of regulating his conduct upon pacific principles on the grounds we shall have to withhold the subsidiary force in cases where the Peishwa may be deemed the aggressor than upon a positive right of arbitration in all cases binding upon him

Without therefore failing in the spirit of our obligations to the Peishwa we have the means of altering so far the character of the treaty as to restore his Highness to a state of more *ostensible independence* and to give to the alliance less the aspect of aiming at an interference in Mahratta affairs

Much of my doubt upon the policy of any Mahratta connection however modified arises from an apprehension of its tendency to involve us too much in the endless and complicated distractions of that turbulent empire. Much of my difficulty would be removed by our connection being so far simplified as to confine it to a mere support upon requisition, and that claim of support necessarily qualified by the principles which strictly belong to every *defensive* alliance We should then always have a good plea for keeping out of discussion which appeared to us foreign to the principles of our alliance we should equally derive all the advantages connected with

the late cessions, and being less pledged to interference, we should perhaps be in a situation to exercise a more beneficial influence than we can do by making ourselves *absolute parties*, in which light we must be considered so long as the subsidiary force is at Poonah and the Peishwa actually in our hands

The object of the late treaty has been to obtain a complete and commanding influence to render this at all secure from interruption and contest, our authority must be introduced upon similar principles into other leading Mahratta states. The accomplishment of this seems little probable if desirable, and the reasons for not thinking it desirable have been already stated

The objections to forming a subsidiary connection with the Mahratta states upon the modified plan herein proposed appear less serious, as it throws less weight of management and interference upon us, whilst in its nature it is less calculated to excite the resentment and jealousy of powers not included in the alliance, the stipulations may be fulfilled without so large an extension of our native force, but even upon this principle it ought not to be carried beyond what appears *absolutely requisite* to unite some proportion of the confederacy in interest with us, as I am satisfied the limited number of men that can be obtained in Europe for general service in the present state of our manufactures and commerce, and the extended scale on which it will be thought necessary hereafter to provide for our home defence, renders it hopeless to aim at obtaining for India a larger establishment of king's troops

In any modification of the treaty of Bassein upon the principles above suggested, it is of great importance to guard against any impression calculated to make the Nizam discontented with the treaty of Hyderabad of 1800

This cannot be difficult to manage. The Nizam has a direct interest in the subsidiary force being so stationed as effectually to cover his dominions from Mahratta incursions, it will be easy to make him feel the policy of modifying our

connectio with the court of Poonah the head of the Mahratta confederacy so as to occasion less jealousy in the other states and as war always augments his expenses as our ally he will have the same interest in the adoption of measures tending to allay the uneasiness of the other Mahratta powers which we ourselves have

The object to be aimed at should be to place the alliance with the Court of Poonah as nearly as may be on the footing of our connection with the Nizam previous to 1798 retaining however the assigned lands as a permanent provision for a permanent force to be held always disposable for the protection of the Peishwa although not stationed within his dominions and it appears to me that so far from encouraging or wishing the Peishwa to order this force frequently and without adequate necessity to enter his territory that the object of the Resident at Poonah should be to discourage as much as possible his applying for it when its services can be dispensed with and whenever the service is performed on which it is required that it should be *our endeavour* to have it returned to its station with the least possible delay

Such is the course of management which appears to me best calculated to strengthen our influence not only at Poonah, but in the other Mahratta Courts. Between this and a system of authority founded on force and not likely to be effected without continual struggles I apprehend there is no safe medium

Whether this alteration of our engagements with the Peishwa had better be made a matter of general negotiation at the peace with the Mahratta states or at once settled between the Peishwa and the Company must be judged of on the spot; in the former case it may lead to some equivalent arrangements on the part of our enemies in the latter it would bear less the complexion of a concession whilst it would probably narrow materially the points at issue with the other powers

Our first object then seems to be to fulfil our engagements to the Peishwa our second to alter to a certain degree the

nature of our connection with that state. A third consideration is, what steps we are called upon to take in consequence of the part which the other Mahratta powers have acted on the present occasion, particularly Scindiah and the Berar Rajah, Holkar by the last accounts not having as yet joined the confederacy.

Whatever might have been their natural motives of jealousy, their conduct has throughout been marked by the utmost duplicity. They appear to have taken their measures for war whilst they were professing friendship.

They did not remonstrate against the treaty of Bassein, on the contrary, Scindiah disclaimed any purpose of disturbing it, and declared he did not consider it to contain any stipulation inconsistent with his interest, the evidence we had of orders given by Scindiah to his chiefs on the Bengal frontier clearly marks that his interview with the Berar Rajah, and the menacing posture taken by their united forces immediately on the Nizam's territories, was a prelude to hostilities.

Not having demanded *explanation*, nor made any attempt to settle the question by amicable negotiation, but having on the contrary pursued a course of equivocation and deceit we are warranted in considering them as aggressors.

In this case we are entitled to demand from them (subject to prudential considerations) indemnity for the expenses incurred by us and our allies in the war, in the application however of this right, it would be highly inadvisable to protract the war in the hope of obtaining such retribution.

Pecuniary compensation is very much out of the question with such states. they have little treasure and less credit and any security given on lands is only keeping 'alive' a question of litigation between them and us if our successes are such as to place within our reach any concession on their part without protracting the contest. Better take it in some absolute and unqualified surrender than any thing connected with a protracted settlement and if the surrender is of a territorial description, it is desirable that it should be some



point of value rather as a means of security to our existing possessions than selected with a view to their extension

The expelling the French now in the service of Scindiah, is certainly a considerable object, and one to which the Governor General's attention appears already earnestly directed. As far as my means of information go I should conceive Baroach in the Guzerat belonging to Scindiah, and Cuttack to the Rajah of Berar, would be the points of most importance to insist on as tending to deny to European intrigue their best channels of intercourse with the native powers

The object however of *most importance* will be to bring the war to an end as early as is consistent with our good honour and good faith. Extension of territory not being our purpose, we have nothing to gain from the contest whilst it suspends all our views to the reduction of debt &c

CASLIEREAGH

- (c) The Secret Committee of the honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company to the most noble the Governor-General in Council, Bengal.

Last India House London 6th March 1804

We have received despatches from our Presidency of Bombay dated the 8th September 1803 announcing to us the actual commencement of hostilities between our forces and certain of the Mahratta powers

The successes with which the campaign has opened by the immediate reduction of Ahmednuggur and Broach in a manner so highly creditable to the British arms and to the officers who directed those operations could not fail to afford us the highest satisfaction. But as it was always our wish to avoid a connection with the Mahrattas at the expense or even at the serious risk of a war with any of the leading members of that confederacy we deeply regret that such has been the result of the treaty

concluded with the Peishwa at Bassem, and we feel it necessary in consequence thereof at this early period, to convey to you our sentiments upon the present posture of affairs

Removed as we are from the immediate scene of action, much must necessarily at all times be left to the discretion of our governments on the spot, in applying the principles which we may think it necessary to prescribe for the direction of their conduct to the precise state of circumstances under which they may be called upon at the moment to act. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves in the present despatch, to a statement of the general considerations by which we desire your conduct may be governed

Whilst we are prepared to make every exertion which is due to the good faith, and which the character and honour of our government may require, we do not, as a measure of policy, attach that value to the provisions of the treaty in question, which would lead us to wish that, it should be maintained at all hazards in its present form, if by any modifications of the stipulations therein contained, our connection with the state of Poonah can be rendered a measure of less alarm and jealousy to the other Mahratta powers, being firmly persuaded that no alliance with a Mahratta power, but more especially with one in military rank not standing higher than the third or fourth in the empire, can in the long run be consistent with our interests, unless the preponderating majority of the confederacy can be reconciled to that connection

The most prominent grounds of jealousy entertained by the Mahratta states of the late treaty, appear to arise out of the third and seventeenth articles, the former introducing and permanently stationing a commanding British force in the Peishwa's dominions, the latter binding his Highness without the stipulations being reciprocal, not to commence any negotiation with any other power without previous communication with the British Government which two

stipulations they consider as tending to place under our control and guidance the legitimate head of their Empire

Under a strong conviction of the embarrassment which must arise from our mixing ourselves too intimately in the complicated politics of this distracted empire our wish is to confine the purposes of the treaty strictly to the support and defence of the Peishwa in the quiet possession of his own immediate dominions, and to avoid not only in fact but in appearance every thing which can be construed to affect the independency of the Mahratta confederacy through its legitimate head or which can create distrust and jealousy between the Peishwa and the other great powers of the empire We are therefore desirous whilst the support to which his Highness is entitled under the treaty of Bassein (so long as he shall remain faithful to his engagements) is afforded to him in the fullest manner that we should not hesitate to relax in such stipulations as were introduced into that treaty rather for our than for his Highness's accommodation When we refer to the Peishwa's former reluctance to the introduction of a subsidiary force within his dominions and when we couple this with the decided repugnance which undoubtedly exists to the arrangement lately concluded on the part of the other states we cannot doubt that a relaxation of this condition of the treaty will prove highly satisfactory to his Highness, and we also flatter ourselves that by this relaxation a material objection in the feelings of the other states may be removed In order more distinctly to mark that our object is sincerely to support and by no means to infringe the independency of our ally our wish is that it should be expressly stipulated in an additional article to the treaty that the subsidiary force shall hereafter be stationed within the Company's territories, in such a position as shall enable it to act on the shortest notice in support of the Peishwa but that it shall upon no account except upon a formal requisition from the Peishwa (unless restraint should be put upon his Highness's person) enter his dominion We also are willing to abandon the seventeenth

article, and to rely on the interest his Highness will have in cultivating a good understanding with the British for his fidelity to the general stipulations of the alliance in any connections he may form with other powers. It is material further to call your attention to the twelfth article of the treaty. Having in conformity to the treaty of Hyderabad stipulated in article thirteen for a right of arbitrating all the differences subsisting between the Nizam and the Peishwa, we entertain great doubts whether it is desirable, regard being had to the character and complexion which it is our object to give to the alliance, to stipulate for a general right of arbitration as between the Peishwa and other states. Such a right must in itself create much jealousy, and we are inclined to think that it would be on the whole better not to push our claim of arbitrating so far. This course seems the less hazardous as the treaty of Bassein is not only guarded by the general principles which appertain to all defensive alliances, but is also specifically restricted with reference to certain states therein named. In thus conveying our instructions upon this important subject we think it due to the Governor-General in Council to state, that the objections which attach upon the treaty of Bassein in its present form did not when this subject was last under consideration in the months of September and December 1800, as circumstances then stood, impress themselves upon our minds with equal force. We therefore desire to be understood, as not attaching blame to the conduct of our government abroad with respect to the form of the treaty itself, however subsequent events may have convinced us of the hazard of aiming at so close a connection with the court of Poonah. We cannot close this despatch without adverting to the late proceedings of the other Mahratta chiefs. Whilst we are ready to admit that states jealous of their independency might naturally entertain some alarm at stipulations capable of being represented to them as placing the head of the empire under the immediate control of a foreign power, we cannot avoid noticing the deceitful and disingenuous conduct pursued by Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar previous to the rupture. Instead of openly

avowing their sentiments and endeavouring by amicable explanation to obtain relief from any stipulations of the treaty which could be supposed to affect their interests they in terms disclaimed any ground of objection and disavowed any intention of obstructing this connection. Whilst such was their language it appears they were intent upon gaining time with a view of arranging a confederacy and of acting hostilely against the Company and its allies so soon as their measures were ripe for execution and the season favoured their operations. Such having been the conduct of these chieftains the Company are clearly entitled to consider them as aggressors and (as far as prudential considerations will justify them in asserting the claim) to demand from the enemy a reasonable indemnity for the expenses of the war. But you are to understand however indisputable this claim in strictness may be that it is our positive direction the war may by no means be protracted in pursuit of such an object. Upon the whole our wish is that a modification of the treaty should at all events take place in conformity to the above instructions not on the ground of cession but upon a deliberate consideration of the system of policy which appears to us to be the best adapted to the genius and the character of this people. Determining to support the Peishwa on the Musnud unless his Highness by some act of his shall have dissolved the alliance as also the treaty of Bassein upon the modified plan herein described whenever the powers we are opposed to shall be disposed to recognize our rights and those of our ally the Peishwa as under the treaty so amended we see no adequate motive for continuing the war and should the success of our arms be such as under all the circumstances appear to you in prudence to warrant a demand of some concessions from our opponents we desire that the demand be framed upon principles of great moderation and with a view to the improvement of the military security rather than the extension of our present dominions.

We must however impress most strongly on your minds that the <sup>early</sup> termination of the war is the object to which we desire your efforts may be most earnestly directed and although

desire your efforts may be most earnestly directed, and although we have thought it right to advert to the possible expediency of requiring certain sacrifices in the nature of reparation from our opponents, you are by no means to consider such suggestions as controlling your conduct in case you should be of opinion under all the circumstances that peace is likely to be more firmly established and future causes of dissension more effectually obviated by an entire restoration of all our conquests

We are your affectionate friends,

JACOB BOSANQUET,

JOHN ROBERTS,

W DEVAYNEZ

(d) Memorandum on the Treaty of Bassein. By Sir Arthur Wellesley

1804

In order to understand clearly the object of the 12th and 17th articles of the treaty of Bassein, it is necessary to consider the nature and constitution of the contracting parties, to examine their political objects and systems, to see by what rules or systems of policy they are respectively bound, and in what manner affected by their respective connections with other sovereign authorities. European governments were till very lately guided by certain rules and systems of policy, so accurately defined and generally known, that it was scarcely possible to suppose a political event in which the interests and conduct of each state would not be as well known to the corps diplomatique in general as to the statesman of each particular state.

The Asiatic governments do not acknowledge, and hardly know of such rules and systems. Their governments are arbitrary, the objects of their policy are always shifting, they have no regular established system, the effect of which is to protect the weak against the strong, on the contrary, the object of each of them separately, and of all of them collectively, is to destroy

the weak and if by chance they should by a sense of common danger be induced for a season to combine their efforts for their mutual defence the combination lasts only as long as it is attended by success the first reverse dissolves it and at all events it is dissolved long before the danger ceases the apprehension of which originally caused it

There cannot be a stronger proof of this defect of policy in the Asiatic governments than the dissolution of the combination of the year 1790 between the English the Marhattas, and the Nizam by the attack of the Marhattas on the Nizam in the year 1795

These observations apply to the government of the Marhattas more than to any other of the Asiatic governments. Their schemes and systems of policy are the wildest of any they undertake expeditions not only without viewing their remote consequences upon other states or upon their own but without considering more than the chance of success of the immediate expedition in contemplation

The Company's government in India the other contracting party to this alliance is one bound by all the rules and systems of European policy

The Company's power in India is supposed to depend much upon its reputation and although I do not admit that it depends upon its reputation as distinguished from its real force as appears to be contended by some I may say that it is particularly desirable for a government so constituted as the Company's never to enter upon any political object the probable result of which should not be greatly in favour of success Besides this the Company's government in India is bound by acts of Parliament not to undertake wars of aggression not to make any but defensive alliances and those only in cases in which the other contracting party shall bind itself to defend the possessions of the Company actually threatened with hostilities

The Company's government in India is also connected with his Majesty's Government and as an Asiatic power is liable to





the peace of Seringapatam in 1792 which are under the more immediate and direct administration of the European civil servants of the Company are acknowledged to form the most opulent and flourishing parts of India in which property, life civil order and religious liberty are more secure and the people enjoy a larger portion of the benefits of good government, than any other country in this quarter of the globe. The duty and policy of the British Government in India therefore require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the government to Europeans educated in its own service and subject to its own direct control should be diffused as widely as possible as well with a view to the stability of our own interests as to the happiness and welfare of our native subjects. This principle formed the basis of the wise and benevolent system introduced by Lord Cornwallis for the improvement of the internal government of the provinces immediately subject to the Presidency of Bengal.

In proportion to the extension of this beneficial system the duties of the European civil servants of the East India Company are become of greater magnitude and importance the denominations of writer factor and merchant by which the several classes of the civil service are still distinguished are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of the duties discharged and of the occupations pursued by the civil servants of the Company.

To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners usages and religions to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world these are now the duties of the larger proportion of the civil servants of the Company. The senior merchants composing the five Courts of Circuit and Appeal under the Presidency of Bengal exercise in each of those Courts a jurisdiction of greater local extent applicable

to a larger population, and occupied in the determination of causes infinitely more intricate and numerous than that of any regularly constituted courts of justice in any part of Europe. The senior or junior merchants, employed in the several magistracies and Zillah Courts, the writers or factors filling the stations of registers and assistants to the several courts and magistrates, exercise in different degrees, functions of a nature, either purely judicial, or intimately connected with the administration of the police, and with the maintenance of the peace and good order of their respective districts. Commercial and mercantile knowledge, is not only unnecessary throughout every branch of the judicial department, but those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors or writers, are bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit, the mercantile title which they bear, not only affords no description of their duty, but is entirely at variance with it.

The pleadings in the several courts, and all important judicial transactions, are conducted in the native languages. The law which the Company's judges are bound to administer throughout the country is not the law of England, but that law to which the natives had long been accustomed under their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by the voluminous regulations of the Governor-General in Council, as well as by the general spirit of the British constitution. These observations are sufficient to prove, that no more arduous or complicated duties of magistracy exist in the world, no qualifications more various, or more comprehensive, can be imagined than those which are required from every British subject, who enters the seat of judgment within the limits of the Company's empire in India.

To the administration of the revenue, many of the preceding

observations will apply with equal force the merchants factors and writers employed in this department also are bound by law to abjure the mercantile denomination appropriated to their respective classes in the Company's service nor is it possible for a collector of the revenue or for any civil servant employed under him to discharge his duty with common justice either to the state or to the people unless he shall be conversant in the language manners and usages of the country and in the general principles of the law as administered in the several courts of justice In addition to the ordinary judicial and executive functions of the Judges Magistrates and Collectors the Judges and Magistrates occasionally act in the capacity of Governors of their respective districts employing the military and exercising other extensive powers The Judges Magistrates and Collectors are also respectively required by law to propose from time to time to the Governor General in Council such amendments of the existing laws or such new laws as may appear to them to be necessary for the welfare and good government of their respective districts In this view the civil servants employed in the department of Judicature and Revenue constitute a species of subordinate legislative council to the Governor General in Council and also form a channel of communication by which the Government ought to be enabled at all times to ascertain the wants and wishes of the people The remarks appplied to these two main branches of the civil service namely those of Judicature and Revenue are at least equally forcible in their application to those branches which may be described under the general terms of the Political and Financial Departments comprehending the offices of Chief Secretary the various stations in the Secretary's office in the Treasury in the office of Accountant General together with all the public officers employed in conducting the current business at the seat of Government To these must be added the Diplomatic branch including the Secretary in the political department and the several

residencies at the Courts of our dependent and tributary Princes, or of other native powers of India

It is certainly desirable, that all these stations should be filled by the civil servants of the Company. It is equally evident that qualifications are required in each of these stations either wholly foreign to commercial habits, or far exceeding the limits of a commercial education.

Even that department of this empire, which is denominated exclusively commercial, requires knowledge and habits different, in a considerable degree, from those which form the mercantile character in Europe, nor can the Company's investment ever be conducted with the greatest possible advantage and honour to themselves, or with adequate justice to their subjects, unless their commercial agents shall possess many of the qualifications of statesmen, enumerated in the preceding observations. The manufacturers, and other industrious classes, whose productive labour is the source of the investment, bear so great a proportion to the total population of the Company's dominions, that the general happiness and prosperity of the country must essentially depend on the conduct of the commercial servants employed in providing the investment. Their conduct cannot be answerable to such a charge, unless they shall be conversant in the native languages, and in the customs and manners of the people, as well as in the laws by which the country is governed. The peace, order, and welfare of whole provinces may be materially affected by the malversations, or even by the ignorance and errors of a commercial resident, whose management touches the dearest and most valuable interests, and enters into the domestic concerns of numerous bodies of people, active and acute from habitual industry, and jealous of any act of power injurious to their properties, or contrary to their prejudices and customs.

The Civil servants of the English East India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are, in fact, the ministers and

officers of a powerful sovereign they must now be viewed in that capacity with reference not to their nominal but to their real occupations. They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates Judges Ambassadors, and Governors of provinces in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations and under peculiar circumstances which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge. The duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate by a foreign language by the peculiar usages and laws of India and by the manners of its inhabitants. Their studies the discipline of their education their habits of life their manners and morals should therefore be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration and the dignity and importance of their public stations and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history languages customs and manners of the people of India with the Mahomedan and Hindoo codes of law and religion and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor General in Council for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics civil jurisprudence the law of

nations, and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic differences of the several codes of law administered within the British Empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice, and in the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of this climate, and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious indulgence, the spirit of emulation, in honourable and useful pursuits, should be kindled and kept alive by the continual prospect of distinction, and reward, of profit, and honour, nor should any precaution be relaxed in India, which is deemed necessary in England to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the State with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this Government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and inefficient. Whatever course and system of discipline and study may be deemed requisite in England to secure an abundant and pure source for the efficient supply of the public service, the peculiar nature of our establishments in the East, (so far from admitting any relaxation of those wise and salutary rules and restraints) demands that they should be enforced with a degree of additional vigilance and care, proportioned to the aggravated difficulties of the civil service, and to the numerous hazards surrounding the entrance of public life in India.

It is unnecessary to enter into any examination of facts to prove, that no system of education, study, or discipline,

now exists either in Europe or in India, founded on the principles or directed to the objects described in the preceding pages but it may be useful in this place to review the course through which the junior civil servants of the East India Company now enter upon the important duties of their respective station to consider to what degree they now possess or can attain any means of qualifying themselves sufficiently for those stations and to examine whether the great body of the civil servants of the East India Company at any of the Presidencies can now be deemed competent to discharge their arduous and comprehensive trusts in the manner correspondent to the interests and honour of the British name in India or to the prosperity and happiness of our native subjects

The age at which the writers usually arrive in India is from sixteen to eighteen their parents or friends in England from a variety of considerations are naturally desirous, not only to accelerate the appointment at home but to despatch the young man to India at the earliest possible period Some of these young men have been educated with an express view to the civil service in India on principles utterly erroneous and inapplicable to its actual condition conformably to this error they have received a limited education confined principally to commercial knowledge and in no degree extended to those liberal studies which constitute the basis of education at public schools in England Even this limited course of study is interrupted at the early period of fifteen or seventeen years

It would be superfluous to enter into any argument to demonstrate the absolute insufficiency of this class of young men to execute the duties of any station whatever in the civil service of the Company beyond the merest laborious, unwholesome and unprofitable duty of a mere copying-clerk Those who have received the benefits of a better education have the misfortune to find the course of their studies prematurely interrupted at the critical period when its utility is first felt

and before they have been enabled to secure the fruits of early application

Both descriptions of young men, those whose education has been originally erroneous and defective, and those, the early promise of whose studies has been unseasonably broken, once arrived in India, are equally precluded from the means, either of commencing a new and judicious course of study, adapted to their new situation, or of prosecuting that course which had been prematurely interrupted. Not only no encouragement is offered by the present constitution and practice of the civil service to any such pursuits, but difficulties and obstacles are presented by both which render it nearly impossible for any young man, whatever may be his disposition, to pursue any systematic plan of study, either with a view to remedy the defects, or to improve the advantages of his former education.

On the arrival of the writers in India, they are either stationed in the interior of the country, or employed in some office at the Presidency.

If stationed in the interior of the country, they are placed in situations which require a knowledge of the language and customs of the natives, or of the regulations and laws, or of the general principles of jurisprudence, or of the details of the established system of revenue, or of the nature of the Company's investment, or of many of these branches of information combined. In all these branches of knowledge, the young writers are totally uninformed. They are consequently unequal to their prescribed duties. In some cases, their superior in office experiencing no benefit from their services, leaves them unemployed. In this state many devote their time to those luxuries and enjoyments which their situation enables them to command, without making any effort to qualify themselves for the important stations to which they are destined. They remain sunk in indolence, until, from their station in the service, they succeed to offices of high public trust.

Positive incapacity is the necessary result of these pernicious habits of inaction, the principles of public integrity



are endangered and the successful administration of the whole Government exposed to hazard. This has been the unhappy course of many who have conceived an early disgust in provincial stations against business to which they have found themselves unequal and who have been abandoned to the effects of despondency and sloth.

Even the young men whose dispositions are the most promising if stationed in the interior of the country at an early period after their arrival in India, labour under great disadvantages. They also find themselves unequal to such duties as require an acquaintance with the languages or with the branches of knowledge already described. If intensely employed in the subordinate details of office they are absolutely precluded from reviving any former acquirements or from establishing those foundations of useful knowledge indispensably necessary to enable them hereafter to execute the duties of important stations with ability and credit. Harassed with the ungrateful task of transcribing papers and accounts or with other equally fatiguing and fruitless labours of a copying clerk or index maker their pursuit of useful knowledge cannot be systematic their studies must be desultory and irregular and their attention to any definite pursuit is still more distracted by the uncertainty of the nature of those employments to which they may hereafter be nominated. No course of study having been pointed out by public institution no selection prescribed by authority of the branches of knowledge appropriated to each department and class of the service diligence is lost for want of a guide and the most industrious are discouraged by the apprehension that their studies may prove fruitless and may frustrate instead of promoting their advancement in the public service.

When their rank in the service has entitled them to succeed to offices of importance the current duties of those offices necessarily engross their whole attention. It is then too late to revert to any systematic plan of study with a view to acquire those qualifications of which in the ordinary

discharge of their official functions, they feel the hourly want of it, at this late season, they should make an effort to acquire knowledge, it must be sought by the interruption of their current business, to the detriment of the public interests, and to the inconvenience or injury of the individuals subject to their authority

With respect to the young men attached to offices at the Presidency, their duty consists chiefly in transcribing papers. This duty, if pursued with the utmost diligence and assiduity, affords little knowledge of public affairs, is often prejudicial to health, and would be better performed by any native or Portuguese writer. They attain no distinct knowledge of the public records, because they pursue no regular course of reading, examining, or comparing the documents which compose those records, they have, indeed, scarcely time to understand and digest those papers which they are employed to transcribe, their acquaintance even with the current affairs of the Government must be limited and partial, and must rather tend to confuse than to instruct their minds. At the expiration of the period, during which they usually remain in these situations at the Presidency, their knowledge of public business is necessarily superficial and incorrect. Having had little intercourse with the natives, these young men are in general extremely deficient in the knowledge of the language of the country. In the meanwhile their close and laborious application to the hourly business of transcribing papers has been an insuperable obstacle to their advancement in any other branch of knowledge, and at the close of two or three years, they have lost the fruits of their European studies, without having gained any useful knowledge of Asiatic literature or business. Those whose disposition lead them to idleness and dissipation, find greater temptations to indulgence and extravagance at the Presidency than in the provinces, many instances occur in which they fall into irretrievable courses of gaming and vice, and totally destroy their health and fortunes. Some succeed, in the ordinary

progress of the service to employments, in which their incapacity or misconduct becomes conspicuous to the natives disgraceful to themselves and to the British name and injurious to the State

All these descriptions of young men upon their first arrival in India are now exposed to a disadvantage, the most perilous which can be encountered at an early period of life. Once landed in India their studies manners morals expenses or conduct are no longer subject to any degree of regulation or direction. No system is established for their guidance improvement or restraint no authority has been constituted with either the duty or power of enforcing any such system and they are abandoned at the age of sixteen or eighteen with affluent incomes to pursue their own inclinations without the superintendence or control of parent guardian or master often without a friend to advise or admonish or even to instruct them in the ordinary details and modes of an Indian life.

The practice of consigning the young writers to the care of friends resident in India, affords no adequate remedy to this evil. Those friends are often incompetent to the arduous and delicate task imposed upon them and it frequently happens that they may be so far removed from the spot at which the young man may be stationed by the Government that years may elapse before he may have been able even to see the persons appointed by his European friends to superintend his introduction into India.

In earlier periods of our establishment when the annual incomes of the civil servants were of a more fluctuating nature and derived from sources more vague and indefinite the tables of the senior servants were usually open to those recently arrived from Europe and the young writers upon their first landing in India were frequently admitted and domiciliated in the families established at the Presidency or in the provinces.

The objections to this loose and irregular system are numerous and obvious. Without entering upon that topic, it is

sufficient to observe, that the definite and regular sources of profit, established in the civil service by Lord Cornwallis, have occasioned a material alteration in the economy of every private family among the civil servants

Incomes being limited and ascertained, and no other source of emolument now existing beyond the annual savings from the regulated salaries, the tables of the civil servants can no longer be open to receive the numerous body of writers annually arriving from Europe, still less can these young men be generally admitted to reside habitually in families of which the annual expenses are now necessarily restrained within certain and regular bounds

Many of the young men, on their first arrival, are, therefore, compelled to support the expense of a table, the result of this necessity is obvious, and forms one leading cause of expense and dissipation

Under all these early disadvantages, without rule or system to direct their studies, without any prescribed object of useful pursuit connected with future reward, emolument, or distinction, without any guide to regulate, or authority to control their conduct, or to form, improve, or preserve their morals, it is highly creditable to the individual characters of the civil servants of the East India Company, that so many instances have occurred in various branches and departments of the civil service at all the Presidencies, of persons who have discharged their public duties with considerable respect and honour

It has been justly observed, that all the merits of the civil servants are to be ascribed to their own characters, talents, and exertions, while their defects must be imputed to the constitution and practice of the service, which have not been accommodated to the progressive changes of our situation in India, and have not kept pace with the growth of this empire or with the increasing extent and importance of the functions and duties of the civil servants

The study and acquisition of the languages have, however,

been extended in Bengal and the general knowledge and qualifications of the civil servants have been improved. The proportion of the civil servants in Bengal who have made a considerable progress towards the attainment of the qualifications requisite in their several stations appears great and even astonishing when viewed with relation to the early disadvantages, embarrassments and defects of the civil service. But this proportion will appear very different when compared with the exigencies of the State with the magnitude of these provinces and with the total number of the civil servants which must supply the succession to the great offices of the Government. It must be admitted that the great body of the civil servants in Bengal is not at present sufficiently qualified to discharge the duties of the several arduous stations in the administration of this empire and that it is peculiarly deficient in the judicial, fiscal, financial and political branches of the Government.

The state of the civil services of Madras and Bombay is still more defective than that of Bengal. Various causes have concurred to aggravate in an extreme degree at both those Presidencies all the defects existing in the civil service of Bengal while many circumstances peculiar to those Presidencies have favoured the growth of evils at present unknown in this. The condition of the writers on their first arrival at either of the subordinate Presidencies is still more destitute and more exposed to hazard than at Calcutta.

The study or acquisition of the languages and of other necessary attainments has not been extended in the civil service at Madras or Bombay to any considerable degree. To this remark eminent and meritorious individual exceptions exist in the civil service at both subordinate Presidencies but those exceptions are not sufficiently numerous to constitute a general rule. But whatever may be the actual condition of the civil service in its superior classes at any of the Presidencies if the arduous duties of that service have been justly defined in the preceding page if the qualifications requisite for their discharge have been truly

described, if the neglected and exposed condition of the early stages of the service has not been exaggerated, it must be admitted, that those stages of the service require additional safeguards, and a more effectual protection. The extraordinary exertions of individual diligence, the partial success of singular talents, or of peculiar prudence and virtue, constitute no rational foundation of a public institution, which should rest on general comprehensive and uniform principles. If the actual state of the higher classes of the civil service were such as to justify a confidence in the general competency of the civil servants to meet the exigencies of their duty, the necessity of correcting the evils stated in the preceding pages would still remain, unless the facts alleged could be disproved. It would still be a duty incumbent on the Government to remove any obstacles tending to embarrass or retard the progress of their servants in attaining the qualifications necessary for their respective stations. The Government is not released from this duty by the extraordinary, or even general exertion of those servants to surmount the early difficulties of the first stages of the service. If the good Government of this empire be the primary duty of its sovereign, it must ever be a leading branch of that duty to facilitate to the public officers and ministers the means of qualifying themselves for their respective functions. The efficiency of the service cannot wisely or conscientiously be left to depend on the success of individual or accidental merit, struggling against the defects of established institutions. A due administration of our affairs can alone be secured by the constant effect of public institutions, operating in a regular and uninterrupted course upon the various characters, talents, and acquirements of individuals. The nature of our establishments should furnish fixed and systematic encouragement to animate, to facilitate, to reward the progress of industry and virtue, and fixed and systematic discipline, to repress and correct the excesses of contrary dispositions.

From these remarks may be deduced the indispensable necessity of providing some effectual and speedy remedy for the defects in the education of the young men destined to the

civil service in India The nature of that remedy will afford matter of serious discussion

It may however be useful previously to that discussion to advert to a general topic of argument which may possibly be adduced to disprove the necessity of any new institution for the improvement of the civil service of the East India Company It may be contended that this service, through a long period of years and in the course of various changes and chances has always furnished men equal to the exigency of the occasion that servants of the Company have never been wanting to conduct to a happy issue the numerous revolutions which have taken place in the affairs of the Company in India and that these eminent personages have ultimately fixed the British empire in India on the most solid foundations of glory wealth and power Why therefore should we apprehend that this source hitherto so fruitful and furnishing so abundant a supply of virtue and talents will fail in the present age and prove insufficient to the actual demands of our interests in this quarter of the globe? The answer to this topic of argument is obvious Extraordinary combinations of human affairs wars revolutions and all those unusual events which form the marked features and prominent characters of the history of mankind naturally disclose talents and exertions adapted to such emergencies That the civil or military service of the East India Company has supplied persons calculated to meet all the wonderful revolutions of affairs in India is a circumstance not to be attributed to the original or peculiar constitution of either service at any period of time That constitution has undergone repeated alterations at the suggestion and under the direction of the great characters which it has produced and it has still been found answerable to every new crisis of an extraordinary nature But it must never be forgotten that the successive efforts of those eminent personages and the final result of various revolutions and wars have imposed upon the East India Company the arduous and sacred trust of governing an extensive and populous empire It is true that this empire

must be maintained in some of its relations by the same spirit of enterprize and boldness which acquired it. But duty, policy and honour require that it should not be administered as a temporary and precarious acquisition, as an empire conquered by prosperous adventure, and extended by fortunate accident, of which the tenure is as uncertain as the original conquest and successive extension were extraordinary, it must be considered as a sacred trust, and a permanent possession. In this view its internal government demands a constant, steady, and regular supply of qualifications, in no degree similar to those which distinguished the early periods of our establishment in India, and laid the first foundations of our empire. The stability of that empire, whose magnitude is the accumulated result of former enterprize, activity and resolution, must be secured by the durable principles of internal order, by a pure, upright, and uniform administration of justice, by a prudent and temperate system of revenue, by the encouragement and protection of industry, agriculture, manufacture and commerce, by a careful and judicious management of every branch of financial resource, and by the maintenance of a just, firm, and moderate policy towards the native powers of India. To maintain and uphold such a system in all its parts, we shall require a succession of able magistrates, wise and honest judges, and skilful statesmen, properly qualified to conduct the ordinary movements of the great machine of Government.

The military establishments of this empire form no part of the subject of the present enquiry. It may be sufficient to observe in this place, that their extent, and the spirit in which they require to be governed, must correspond with the magnitude of the empire, and with the general character of our civil policy. In the civil service, we must now seek, not the instruments by which kingdoms are overthrown, revolutions accomplished, or wars conducted, but an inexhaustible supply of useful knowledge, cultivated talents, and well ordered and disciplined morals. These are the necessary instruments of



a wise and well regulated Government. These are the genuine and unfailing means of cultivating and improving the arts of peace, of diffusing affluence and happiness will ing obedience and grateful attachment over every region and district of this vast empire and of dispensing to every class and description of our subjects the permanent benefits of secure property, protected life undisturbed order and inviolate religion. It is not the nature of these inestimable blessings to spring from a turbid source or to flow in a contracted and irregular channel.

The early education of the civil servants of the East India Company is the source from which will ultimately be derived the happiness or misery of our native subjects and the stability of our Government will bear a due proportion to its wisdom liberality and justice.

From the preceding discussion it appears that the actual state of the Company's civil service in India is far removed from perfection or efficiency and that the cause of this defect is to be found principally if not exclusively in the defective education of the junior civil servants and in the insufficient discipline of the early stages of the service. The facts which have been reviewed in the course of this discussion furnish the main principles on which an improved system of education and discipline may be founded with a view to secure the important ends of such an institution.

The defects of the present condition of the civil service may be comprised under the following heads |

First An erroneous system of education in Europe confined to commercial and mercantile studies

Secondly The premature interruption of a course of study indudiciously commenced in Europe

Thirdly The exposed and destitute condition of young men on their first arrival in India, and the want of a systematic guidance and established authority to regulate and control their moral and religious conduct in the early stages of the service

Fourthly, The want of a similar system and authority to prescribe and enforce a regular course of study, under which the young men upon their arrival in India might be enabled to correct the errors, or to pursue and confirm the advantages of their European education, and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and customs of India, together with such other branches of knowledge, as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations

Fifthly, The want of such regulations as shall establish a necessary and inviolable connection between promotion in the civil service, and the possession of those qualifications requisite for the due discharge of the several civil stations.

It is obvious, that an education exclusively European, or Indian; would not afford an adequate remedy for such of these defects as relate to the morals and studies of the East India Company's servants, and would not qualify them for the discharge of duties of a mixed and complicated nature, involving the combined principles of Asiatic and European policy and government Their education must therefore be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstructure systematically completed in India.

An important question may arise, with respect to the proportion of time to be employed in that part of the education of the junior civil servants, which should be appropriated to England, and completed previously to their departure for India. It may be contended, that many of the enumerated evils may be precluded by not allowing the writers to proceed to India until they shall have reached a more advanced age, than that at which they now usually embark and by requiring them to undergo examinations in England, for the purpose of ascertaining their proficiency in the branches of knowledge necessary to the discharge of their duties in India.

To this arrangement various objections of a private, but most important nature, will arise in the mind of every parent, who may have destined his children for India. To attain

any considerable proficiency in the course of education and study described in this paper must necessarily require the detention of the student in Europe to the age of 20 or 22 years many parents could not defray the expence of such an education in England even if the other means of prosecuting it now existed, or could hereafter be provided at any school or college at home

Other objections of a private nature might be stated against this plan but those which are founded on public considerations appear to be absolutely insurmountable. It is a fundamental principle of policy in the British Establishments in the East Indies that the views of the servants of the Company should terminate in the prospect of returning to England there to enjoy the emoluments arising from a due course of active and honourable service in India

Were the civil servants instead of leaving England at the age of sixteen or seventeen to be detained until the age of twenty or two-and-twenty a great proportion of them must abandon all hope of returning with a moderate competence to their native country

Remaining in England to this advanced age, many would form habits and connections at home not to be relinquished at that period of life without great reluctance and few would accommodate themselves with readiness and facility to the habits regulations and discipline of the service in India.

While these causes would render the civil servants intractable instruments in the hands of the Government of India the regular progress through the service would also be retarded Twenty five years may be taken as the period within which a civil servant may regularly acquire with proper habits of economy an independent fortune in India Upon this calculation before the most successful could hope to be in a situation to return to England they would have attained an age when many of the powerful affections and inducements which now attract the servants of the Company to return to

their native country, would be greatly weakened if not entirely extinguished

At that age, many from necessity, and many probably from choice, would establish themselves, permanently in India. It is unnecessary to detail the evil consequences which would result to the British interests in India, were such an habit to become general in the civil service

Detention in England to the age of twenty or twenty-two years would certainly afford the writers an opportunity of advancing their knowledge in the necessary branches of European study, but within that period of time, even in those branches it could scarcely be completed, especially in the important sciences of general ethics and jurisprudence (for how few understandings are equal to such a course of study previously to the age of twenty,) and it would be entirely defective in the essential point of connecting the principles of those sciences with the laws of India, and with the manners and usages of its inhabitants. No establishment formed in England could give a correct<sup>1</sup> practical knowledge of the languages, laws and customs of India, of the peculiar habits and genius of the people, of their mode of transacting business, and of the characteristic features of their vices or virtues. These most essential acquirements would, therefore, remain to be attained after the arrival of the student in India, at an age when the study of languages is attended with additional difficulties, when any prescribed course of study, when any systematic discipline, or regular restraint becomes irksome, if not intolerable. As the East India Company's servants would arrive in India at a period of life too far advanced to admit of subjection to any system of public discipline or control, they must necessarily be left to the dictates of their own discretion with regard to whatever part of their knowledge had been left incomplete in Europe

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<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Jones was not intelligible to the natives of India, when he arrived at Calcutta, in any of the oriental languages

The wants and expenses of individuals arriving in India at the age of twenty or twenty two years would greatly exceed the scale of the public allowances to the junior servants. At this age no restraint could be applied in India to their moral conduct for the purpose of protecting them against the peculiar depravities incident in the climate and to the character of the natives.

From the early age at which the writers are now usually sent to India opportunity is afforded to the government on the spot of obtaining a knowledge of the characters of individuals before they become eligible to stations of trust and importance. Of this advantage the government would be in a great degree deprived if the East India Company's servants were all detained in England until the age of twenty or twenty two this inconvenience would prove nearly an insurmountable impediment to the important and necessary rule of selecting for public office those best qualified to discharge its duties with propriety and effect.

The junior civil servants must therefore continue to embark for India at the age of fifteen or sixteen that they may be tractable instruments in the hands of the government of the country that their morals and habits may be duly formed and protected by proper safeguards against the peculiar nature of the vices and characteristic dangers of Indian society that they may be enabled to pass through the service before the vigour of life has ceased and to return with a competent fortune to Europe while the affections and attachments which bind them to their native country continue to operate with full force and lastly that they may possess regular seasonable and certain means of attaining the peculiar qualifications necessary for their stations.

Under all these circumstances the most deliberate and assiduous examination of all the important questions considered in this paper determined the Governor General to found a Collegiate Institution at Fort William by the annexed regulation.

## II

This regulation comprises all the fundamental principles of the Institution. The detailed statutes for the internal discipline and good government of the College will be framed gradually as circumstances may require.

A common table and apartments are to be provided in the College, for all the civil servants who may be attached to the establishment.

The benefits of the establishment are extended to the junior civil servants of Fort St George and Bombay, who will be directed to proceed to Fort William as soon as the accommodations requisite for their reception shall have been provided.

This arrangement appeared in every respect preferable to the establishment of Colleges at both, or either of those Presidencies. Independently of the considerations of expense and other objections and impediments to the foundation of such Institutions at Fort St George and Bombay, it is of essential importance, that the education of all the civil servants of the Company should be uniform, and should be conducted under the immediate superintendence of that authority, which is primarily responsible for the government of the whole of the British possessions in India, and which must consequently be most competent to judge of the nature and principles of the education which may be most expedient for the public interests.

It may be expected, that the operation of this part of the new institution will ultimately extinguish all local jealousies and prejudices among the several Presidencies, the political, moral, and religious principles of all the British Establishments in India, will then be derived directly from one common source, the civil service of Bengal is unquestionably further advanced in every useful acquisition, and in every respect, more regular and correct than that of either of the subordinate Presidencies, no more speedy or efficacious mode can be devised of diffusing throughout India, the laudable spirit of

the service of Bengal and of extending the benefit of improvements which under the new institution may be expected to make a rapid progress at the seat of the Supreme Government, than by rendering Fort William the centre of the education and discipline of the junior civil servants in India

Provision is made for admitting to the benefits of the Institution civil servants of a longer standing than three years (on their making application for that purpose) under such regulations as may be deemed advisable. The Institution may prove highly beneficial to many servants of this description as many of them will be received on the establishment as its funds and other considerations may admit

Provision is also made for extending the benefits of the Institution to as many of the junior military servants as it may be found practicable to admit from all the Presidencies. Essential benefits will result to the British armies in India from the annual introduction of a number of young men well versed in the languages with which every officer but particularly those belonging to the native corps ought to be acquainted. It is also of most essential importance to the army in India that it should be composed of officers attached by regular instruction and disciplined habits to the principles of morality good order and subordination

Further regulations are in the contemplation of the Governor General for the education of the cadets destined for the army in India which will be connected intimately with the present foundation

It cannot be denied that, during the convulsions with which the doctrines of the French Revolution have agitated the Continent of Europe erroneous principles of the same dangerous tendency had reached the minds of some individuals in this civil and military service of the Company in India and the state as well of political as of religious opinions had been in some degree unsettled. The progress of this mischief would at all times be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers and cadets an Institution

tending to fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and government in their minds at an early period of life, is the best security which can be provided for the stability of the British power in India. The letter of the Court of Directors, under date the 25th May, 1798, has been constantly present to the Governor-General's minds, it is satisfactory to know, after the fullest consideration, that many apprehensions stated in that letter, appear to have been conceived with more force than is required by the actual state of any of the settlements in India.

But among other important advantages of the new Institution, it will provide the most effectual and permanent remedy against the evils, (as far as they existed) which it was the object of the orders of the Honourable Court of the 25th of May, 1798, to correct.

The situation of the junior servants on their early arrival in India, has been fully described in this paper. Under the new Institution, they will be immediately received by the Provost, (a clergyman of the church of England,) they will be provided with apartments in the College, and with a common table, consequently they will be removed from the danger of profusion, extravagance and excess. Every part of their private conduct, their expenses, their connections, their manners and morals will be subject to the notice of the Provost, and principal officers of the College, and (through the collegiate authorities) of the government itself.

While attached to the Institution, the junior servants will have the most ample means afforded to them of completing the European branch of their education, or of correcting its defects, of acquiring whatever local knowledge may be necessary for that department of the service, in which (after mature reflection on their own inclinations, acquisition and talents) they may determine to engage, of forming their manners and of fixing their principles on the solid foundations of virtue and religion.



The acquirements abilities and moral character of every civil servant may be ascertained before he can be eligible to a public station and every selection of persons for high and important offices may be made under a moral certainty that the public expectation cannot be disappointed

The twenty fourth clause of the Regulation will afford the foundation of a law which may at all times secure the civil service against the effects of the possible partiality or ignorance of any government

It is intended that the allowance of every civil servant of less than three years standing being a student in the College should be brought to one standard of 300 rupees per month without any allowance for a Moonshy

As a table and apartments will be provided for the students this allowance will place them in a better situation than any writer of the same standing now enjoys With these advantages under the control of the official authorities of the College and with the benefit of their advice and admonition, aided by statutes for the prevention of extravagance and debt it may be hoped that many young men will adopt early habits of economy and will lay the foundations of honest independence at a much earlier period than is now practicable This advantage will be considerable in every view in no one more than as it will tend to contract the period of each servant's residence in India to give a nearer prospect of return to England and to keep that desirable object more constantly in view

The discipline of the College will be as moderate as may be consistent with the ends of the Institution It will impose no harsh or humiliating restraint, and will be formed on principles combining the discipline of the Universities in England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France and of other European monarchies

It may be expected that the great majority of young men on their arrival in India will eagerly embrace the opportunities afforded to them by this Institution of laying the

foundations of private character, of public reputation, and of early independence. It cannot be supposed that many will be so insensible to their own honour and interests, and so destitute of every liberal feeling and sentiment, as not to prefer the proposed course of studies in the College to the menial labour imposed upon them of transcribing papers in an office where, in the nature of their duty, they are levelled with the native and Portuguese clerks, although infinitely inferior in its execution.

Those young men who may not at the first view discover all the advantages to be derived from the Institution, will, soon improve by the example and communications of others. If any individuals should continue insensible to the calls of public duty, and of private reputation, (and it is of importance that persons of this description should be known before an opportunity has been afforded to them of injuring the public interests, by their vices and defects,) the public good will demand that they should be punished by neglect and exclusion from employment. Considering the liberal manner in which the servants of the Company are rewarded for their services, the public may justly insist on submission to whatever regulations may be prescribed by this Institution.

The incitements to exertion being as powerful as the consequences of contrary habits will be ruinous, instances of gross neglect or contumacy will rarely occur. In this respect the Institution possesses peculiar advantages, and it will become a powerful instrument in the hands of the Government in India, which will be enabled thereby to bring the general character of the servants of the Company to such a standard of perfection as the public interests require. To every other inducement, which any Collegiate Institution in the world can supply for the encouragement of diligence, will be added the immediate view of official promotion, increase of fortune, and distinction in the public service.

If it be asked whether it be proper that the whole time of

the junior servant for the first three years of their residence in India should be devoted to study in the College and that the Company should lose the benefit of their services during that period while the junior servants receive a salary?

It may be enquired on the other hand what is now the occupation of the civil servants for the first three years after their arrival in India what benefit the Company now derives from the services of the junior servants during that period and what in general are now the characters and qualifications of those servants at the expiration of that period?

To all these questions sufficient answers have been given in the preceding pages

Further details respecting the nature of the Institution will be forwarded officially to the Court of Directors at an early period

The reasons which induced the Governor General to found the College without any previous reference to England were these —His conviction of the great Immediate benefit to be derived from the early commencement even of the partial operation of the plan

His experience of the great advantages which had been already derived by many of the young men from their attendance on Mr Gilchrist in consequence of the first experiment made on a contracted scale with a view to a more extended Institution

His anxiety to impart to the very promising young men arrived from Europe within the last three years a share of the advantages described in this paper and his solicitude to superintend the foundation of the Institution and to accelerate and witness its first effects.

This Institution will be best appreciated by every affectionate parent in the hour of separation from his child, destined to the public service in India Let any parent (especially if he has himself passed through the Company's service in India) declare whether the prospect of this Institution has aggravated or mitigated the solicitude of that painful

hour—whether it has raised additional doubts and fears, or inspired a more lively hope of the honourable and prosperous service, of the early and fortunate return of his child?

With regard to the funds for defraying the expense of the Institution, the Governor-General does not intend, without the sanction of the Honourable Court of Directors, to subject the Company to any expense on account of the Institution, beyond that which has already received their sanction independently of the Institution

The Honourable Court have authorized this Government to purchase the Writers' buildings if they can be obtained on advantageous terms. These buildings cannot be obtained on such terms, nor can they be advantageously converted to the final purposes of the Institution. A sum equal to the just value of the buildings, or to the rent now paid for them, will be applied towards the purchase of a proper spot of ground, and to the buildings requisite for the College

The ground proposed to be employed is situated on the Garden Reach, where three or four of the present gardens will be laid together, a new road formed, and a large space of ground cleared and drained. This arrangement will improve the general health of the neighbourhood of Calcutta, as well as afford ample room for every accommodation required for the use of the College, or for the health of the students

The expenses of the Institution will be defrayed by a small contribution from all the civil servants in India, to be deducted from their salaries. This resource will probably be sufficient for all present purposes, with the addition of the fund now applied to the Moonshy's allowance, and of the profits to be derived from a new arrangement of the Government printing-press

The Governor-General has not deemed it proper, in the first instance, to subject the Company to any additional expense on account of the Institution. The Honourable Court of Directors will however, reflect that the Institution is calculated to extend the blessings of good government to the

many millions of people whom Providence has subjected to our dominion, to perpetuate the immense advantages now derived by the Company from their possessions in India and to establish the British Empire in India on the solid foundations of ability integrity virtue and religion. The approved liberality of the Honourable Court will therefore certainly be manifested towards this Institution to an extent commensurate with its importance.

It would produce a most salutary impression in India if the Court immediately on receiving this Regulation were to order the Governor General in Council to endow the College with an annual rent charge on the revenues of Bengal, and issue a similar order to the Governor in Council at Fort St George with respect to the revenue of Mysore leaving the amount of the endowment on each fund to the Governor General in Council.

All those who feel any concern in the support of the British interests in India and especially those whose fortunes have been acquired in the service of the Company or whose connections may now or hereafter look to this service for advancement will undoubtedly contribute to the support of this Institution. Under the auspices of the Court it is hoped that a large sum might be raised by subscription in Europe. The Governor General considered the College at Fort William to be the most becoming public monument which the East India Company could raise to commemorate the conquest of Mysore. He has accordingly dated the law for the foundation of the College on the 4th of May 1800 the first anniversary of the reduction of Seringapatam.

The early attention of the Governor General will be directed to the Mahomedan College founded at Calcutta and to the Hindoo College established at Benares. In the disorders which preceded the fall of the Mogul Empire and the British conquests in India all the public Institutions calculated to promote education and good morals were neglected and at length entirely discontinued. The Institutions at Calcutta

and Benares may be made the means of aiding the study of the laws and languages in the College at Fort William, as well as of correcting the defective moral principles too generally prevalent among the natives of India

An establishment of Moonshies and native teachers of the languages under the control of the collegiate officers at Fort William will be attached to the new College, and the young men will be supplied from this establishment, instead of being left (as at present) to exercise their own discretion in hiring such Moonshies as they can find in Calcutta or in the provinces

These arrangements respecting the native Colleges, while they contribute to the happiness of our native subjects, will qualify them to form a more just estimate of the mild and benevolent spirit of the British Government

In selecting the Garden Reach for the site of the building for the New College, two objects were in the contemplation of the Governor-General first, that the ordinary residence of the students should be so near that of the Governor-General as that he may have the constant means of superintending the whole system and discipline of the Institution The distance of fifteen or sixteen miles in this climate would often embarrass the communication

Secondly That the College should be removed to some distance from the Town of Calcutta The principle of this object is sufficiently intelligible without further explanation, it is, however, desirable that the College should not be so remote from Calcutta as to preclude the young men from all intercourse with the society of that city. Advantages may be derived from a regulated intercourse with the higher classes of that society The Garden Reach combines these advantages, with many others of space and accommodation The situation of the Writers' buildings is objectionable on account of their being placed in the centre of the town Nor would it have been practicable in that situation (even if the Writers' buildings could have been purchased on reasonable

terms) to have obtained an area of ground sufficiently spacious for the new building

As it will require a considerable time before the new buildings in Gardeo Reach can be completed it is intended in the meanwhile to continue to occupy the Writers buildings and to hire such additional buildings in the neighbourhood as may be required for the temporary accommodation of the students and officers of the College for the library, the dining hall the lecture rooms, and other purposes. It will be necessary to make some considerable purchases of books for the foundation of the library. The Governor General will effect whatever purchases can be made with economy and advantage in India. Lists of books will be transmitted to England by an early opportunity with a view to such purchases as it may be necessary to make in Europe and the Governor General entertains no doubt that the Court of Directors will contribute liberally towards such purchases. That part of the library of the late Tippoo Sultaun which was presented by the army to the Court of Directors is lately arrived in Beogal. The Governor General strongly recommends that the Oriental manuscripts composing this collection should be deposited in the library of the College at Fort William and it is his intention to retain the manuscripts accordingly until he shall receive the orders of the Court upon the subject. He will transmit lists of the collection by the first opportunity.

It is obvious that these manuscripts may be rendered highly useful to the purposes of the new Institution and that much more public advantage can be derived from them in the library of the College at Fort William than can possibly be expected from depositing them in London.

Such of the manuscripts as may appear to be merely valuable as curiosities may be transmitted to England by an early opportunity.

It is the intention of the Governor General that the first term of the College should be opened in the course of the

month of November, and the lectures on several of the languages, it is hoped, be commenced in the course of the ensuing winter

With the aid of such temporary arrangements as may be immediately made, it is expected that many other branches of the Institution may be brought into immediate operation, particularly those which relate to the expenses, morals, and general studies of the young men. Fortunately for the objects of the Institution, the Governor-General has found, at Calcutta, two Clergymen of the Church of England, eminently qualified to discharge the duties of Provost and Vice-Provost. To the former office he has appointed Mr Brown, the Company's first Chaplain, and to the latter Mr Buchanan. Mr Brown's character must be well known in England, and particularly so to some Members of the Court of Directors, it is in every respect, such as to satisfy the Governor-General that his views in this nomination will not be disappointed. He has also formed the highest expectations from the abilities, learning, temper, and morals of Mr Buchanan, whose character is well known in England particularly to Dr Porteus, Bishop of London, and to Dr Milner, Master of Queen's College, in the University of Cambridge.

With respect to the Professorships, those which relate to the languages will be best filled in India, and the Governor-General entertains little doubt, that he shall soon be able to fill them permanently, in an efficient manner. In the meanwhile the most laudable zeal has been manifested by such persons in the civil and military service, as are competent to assist the Governor-General in making a temporary provision for the discharge of the duties of these Professorships. The persons properly qualified to fill certain of the other Professorships must be sought in Europe. The Institution will be so framed as to offer strong inducements to such persons, and the Governor-General will endeavour, at the earliest possible period, to secure the assistance of talents, learning, and morals,



from Europe, adapted to the great purposes of this Institution. It may be useful to observe in this place, that the Professors and native Moonshies or teachers will be prohibited from instructing any other persons than the students of the College. The object of this regulation is to prevent European parents, resident in India, from attempting to commence or to complete by means of the new Institution the regular education of their children in India. It is an obviously necessary principle of policy to encourage the present practice of sending children born in India of European parents at an early age to Europe for education.

The Governor General means to recommend that the Court of Directors should hereafter nominate all persons destined for the civil service at any of the Presidencies in India to be students of the College at Fort William. To each studentship (as has already been observed) will be annexed a monthly salary of 300 rupees together with apartments and a common table. It will be for the Honourable Court to decide whether the ultimate destination of the student to the Civil Establishment of Bengal Fort St George or Bombay shall be specified in the original appointment to the studentship at the College of Fort William. It would certainly be more advantageous to the public service that no such appointment should be made in England and that the ultimate destination of each student should be determined in India under the authority of the Government on the spot, according to the inclinations and acquirements of the students respectively. The improved state of the Civil Service at Fort St. George, and the indispensable necessity of introducing the same improvements into the service at Bombay will speedily render the Civil Service at each of those Presidencies no less advantageous and respectable than that of Bengal.

The Governor General highly applauds the wisdom of the late order of the Court regulating the rank of the cadets for the artillery according to the period of time when they may be respectively reported to be qualified for commissions under

the institutions of the Academy at Woolwich It would be a most beneficial regulation to declare that the rank of all students appointed to the College of Fort William, in the same season, should be regulated according to their respective progress in the prescribed studies of the College, and to the public testimonials of their respective merit, established according to the discipline and institutions of the College

If the Court of Directors should approve the principles and objects of this Institution, and should accordingly order the Governor-General to endow it with a rent-charge upon the land revenue of Bengal and Mysore, it would be a gracious act to relieve the Civil Service in India from the tax which the Governor-General intends to impose on the public salaries for the support of the College The tax will indeed be very light, but the Court of Directors may probably be of opinion that such an Institution as the present ought to be supported, rather by the munificence of the Sovereign of the country than by any diminution, however inconsiderable, of the established allowances of the public officers

WELLESLEY

### Regulation for the College at Fort William,

Fort William, July 10th, 1800

*Regulation for the foundation of a College at Fort William in Bengal, and for the better instruction of the Junior Civil Servants of the Honourable the English East India Company in the important duties belonging to the several arduous stations to which the said Junior Civil Servants may be respectively destined in the administration of justice, and in the general government of the British Empire in India—Passed by the Governor-General in Council, on the 10th July, 1800, corresponding with the 28th Assar, 1207, Bengal era, the 4th Sawun, 1207, Fussily, the 28th Assar, 1207, Willaity., the 4th Sawun, 1857, Sumbut, and the 17th Suffar, 1215, Higeree,—But by his Lordship's special order, bearing*

*date on the 4th May 1800 being the first anniversary of the glorious and decisive victory obtained by the British arms at Seringapatam the capital of the Kingdom of Mysore*

Whereas it hath pleased the Divine Providence to favour the counsels and arms of Great Britain in India with a continued course of prosperity and glory and whereas, by the victorious issue of several successive wars, and by the happy result of a just wise and moderate system of policy extensive territories in Hindostan and in the Deccan have been subjected to the dominion of Great Britain and under the government of the Honourable the English East India Company in process of time a great and powerful empire has been founded comprehending many populous and opulent provinces and various nations differing in religious persuasions in language manners and habits and respectively accustomed to be governed according to peculiar usages doctrines, and laws and whereas the sacred duty true interest honour and policy of the British nation require that effectual provision should be made at all times for the good government of the British empire in India, and for the prosperity and happiness of the people inhabiting the same and many wise and salutary regulations have accordingly been enacted from time to time by the Governor General in Council with the benevolent intent and purpose of administering to the said people their own laws usages and customs in the mild and benignant spirit of the British constitution and whereas it is indispensably necessary with a view to secure the due execution and administration of the said wise salutary and benevolent regulations in all time to come as well as of such regulations and laws as may hereafter be enacted by the Governor General in Council that the civil servants of the Honourable the English East India Company exercising high and important functions in the government of India should be properly qualified to discharge the arduous duties of their respective offices and stations should be sufficiently instructed in the general principles of literature and science,

and should possess a competent knowledge, as well of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain, as of the several native languages of Hindostan and the Deccan, and of the laws, usages, and customs of the provinces which the said civil servants respectively may be appointed to govern, and whereas the early interruption in Europe of the education and studies of the persons destined for the civil service of the Honourable the English East India Company precludes them from acquiring, previously to their arrival in India, a sufficient foundation in the general principles of literature and science, or a competent knowledge of the laws, government, and constitution of Great Britain, and many qualifications essential to the proper discharge of the arduous and important duties of the civil service in India, cannot be fully attained otherwise than by a regular course of education and study in India, conducted under the superintendence, direction, and control of the supreme authority of the government of these possessions, and whereas no public institution now exists in India, under which the junior servants appointed at an early period of life to the civil service of the Honourable the English East India Company, can attain the necessary means of qualifying themselves for the high and arduous trusts to which they are respectively destined, and no system of discipline or education has been established in India for the purpose of directing and regulating the studies of the said junior servants, or of guiding their conduct upon their first arrival in India or of forming, improving, or preserving their morals, or of encouraging them to maintain the honour of the British name in India by a regular and orderly course of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, the most noble Richard Marquess Wellesley, Knight of the illustrious Order of Saint Patrick, &c, &c, Governor-General in Council, deeming the establishment of such an institution, and system of discipline, education, and study, to be requisite for the good government and stability of the British empire in India, and for the maintenance of the interests and honour of the

Honourable the English East India Company, his Lordship in Council hath therefore enacted as follows

II A college is hereby founded at Fort William in Bengal for the better instruction of the junior civil servants of the Company in such branches of literature science and knowledge as may be deemed necessary to qualify them for the discharge of the duties of the different offices constituted for the administration of the government of the British possessions to the East Indies

III A suitable building shall be erected for the college containing apartments for the superior officers for the students for a library and for such other purposes as may be found necessary

IV The Governor General shall be the patron and visitor of the college

V The members of the Supreme Council and the Judges of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and of the Nizamut Adawlut shall be the governors of the college

VI The Governor General in Council shall be trustee for the management of the funds of the college and shall regularly submit his proceedings in that capacity to the Honourable the Court of Directors

VII The Comptrolling Committee of Treasury shall be treasurers of the college

VIII The Accountant General and the Civil Auditor shall be respectively accountant and auditor of accounts of the college.

IX The Advocate General and the Honourable Company's standing Counsel shall be the law officers of the college

X The immediate government of the college shall be vested in a Provost and Vice Provost and such other officers as the patron and visitor shall think proper to appoint with such salaries as he shall deem expedient The Provost Vice Provost and all other officers of the college shall be removeable at the discretion of the patron and visitor

XI The Provost shall always be a clergyman of the church of England, as established by law

XII Every proceeding and act of the Patron and Visitor shall be submitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and shall be subjected to their pleasure

XIII The primary duties of the Provost shall be to receive the junior civil servants on their first arrival at Fort William, to superintend and regulate their general morals and conduct, to assist them with his advice and admonition; and to instruct and confirm them in the principles of the Christian religion, according to the doctrine, discipline, and rites of the church of England, as established by law

XIV The Patron and Visitor shall establish such professorships, with such endowments as shall be judged proper

XV. Professorships shall be established as soon as may be practicable, and regular courses of lectures commenced, in the following branches of literature, science, and knowledge

*Languages*—Arabic, Persian, Shanscrit, Hindoostanee, Bengal, Telinga, Mahratta, Tamul, Canara, Mahomedan law, Hindoo law, ethics, civil jurisprudence, and the law of nations English law, the regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council, or by the Governors in Council at Fort St George and Bombay respectively, for the civil government of the British territories in India political economy, and particularly the commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company, geography and mathematics, modern languages of Europe, Greek, Latin, and English classics, general history, antient and modern, the history and antiquities of Hindoostan and the Deccan, natural history, botany, chemistry, and astronomy

XVI The Patron and Visitor may authorize the same professor to read lectures in more than one of the enumerated branches of study, and may at any time unite, or separate, any of the said professorships, or may found additional professorships in such other branches of study as may appear necessary.

XVII The Provost and Vice Provost, after having remained in the government of the college for the complete period of seven years and any professor after having read lectures in the college for the complete period of seven years, or of twenty-eight terms and after having respectively received under the hand and seal of the Patron and Visitor, a testimonial of good conduct during that period of time shall be entitled to an annual pension for life, to be paid either in Europe or in India, according to the option of the party. The pension shall in no case be less than one third of the annual salary received by such Provost or Vice Provost respectively during his continuance in the government of the college, or by any such Professor during the period of his regular lectures. The pension may in any case be increased at discretion of the Patron and Visitor.

XVIII All the civil servants of the Company who may be hereafter appointed on the establishment of the Presidency of Bengal shall be attached to the college for the first three years after their arrival in Bengal and during that period of time, the prescribed studies in the college shall constitute their sole public duty.

XIX All the civil servants now on the establishment of the Presidency of Bengal, whose residence in Bengal shall not have exceeded the term of three years, shall be immediately attached to the college for the term of three years from the date of this regulation.

XX. Any of the junior civil servants of the Company in India whether belonging to the establishment of this Presidency or to that of Fort St George, or of Bombay may be admitted to the benefits of the Institution by order of the Governor General in Council for such term and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable.

XXI Any of the junior military servants of the Company in India, whether belonging to the establishment of this Presidency or to that of Fort St George, or of Bombay may be admitted to the benefits of the Institution, by order of the

Governor-General in Council, for such term, and under such regulations, as may be deemed advisable

XXII In the college at Fort William, four terms shall be observed in each year, the duration of each term shall be two months Four vacations shall also be established in each year, the duration of each vacation shall be one month

XXIII, Two public examinations shall be holden annually, and prizes and honorary rewards shall be publicly distributed by the Provost, in the presence of the Patron and Governors, to such students as shall appear to merit them

XXIV Degrees shall be established, and shall be rendered requisite qualifications for certain offices in the civil governments of Bengal, Fort St George and Bombay, and promotion in the civil service shall be the necessary result of merit publicly approved, according to the discipline and institutions of the college

XXV Statutes shall be framed by the Provost of the college, under the superintendence of the Governors of the college, respecting the internal regulation, discipline, and government of the college, but no statute shall be enforced until it shall have been sanctioned by the Patron and Visitor The statutes so sanctioned shall be printed according to a form to be prescribed by the Patron and Visitor

XXVI. The Patron and Visitor shall be empowered, at all times of his sole and exclusive authority, to amend or abrogate any existing statute, or to enact any new statute for the regulation, discipline, and government of the college

XXVII A regular statement of all salaries, appointments, or removals of the officers of the college, shall be submitted by the Patron and Visitor of the college at the expiration of each term, to the Governor-General in Council, and by the Governor-General in Council to the Honourable the Court of Directors, printed copies of all statutes enacted by the Patron and Visitor shall also be submitted to the Governor-General in Council, and to the Honourable the Court of Directors, at the same periods of time, and in the same manner.



## XII,

## THE CHARTER ACT OF 1813

## A

The brilliant events of Wellesley's administration again involved the Company in financial difficulties, and careful enquiries were instituted into its affairs long before the expiration of the charter. One of the fruits of these enquiries is the Fifth Report an invaluable source of information regarding the state of the country in revenue and judicial matters. In 1813 the House of Commons formed itself into a committee and resolved to hear evidence. Warren Hastings was the first witness heard on behalf of the Company. It was on this occasion that the House rose as by one impulse to do honour to the great proconsul whom it had impeached about a quarter of a century before. The final views of the House are embodied in the following resolutions—

*Resolutions (communicated by the Honourable the House of Commons to the Right Honourable the House of Lords at a Conference) respecting the Affairs of the East India Company*

1 RESOLVED That it is expedient that all the privileges authorities and immunities granted to the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament now in force and all rules regulations and clauses affecting the same shall continue and be in force for a further term of twenty years except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed.

2 Resolved That the existing restraints respecting the commercial intercourse with China shall be continued and that the exclusive trade in tea shall be preserved to the said Company during the period aforesaid

3 Resolved That, subject to the provisions contained in the preceding Resolution it shall be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to export any goods, wares or merchandize which can now, or may hereafter be legally

exported from any port in the United Kingdom to any port within the limits of the charter of the said Company, as hereinafter provided, and that all ships navigated according to law, proceeding from any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and being provided with regular manifests from the last port of clearance, shall respectively be permitted to import any goods, wares, or merchandize, the product and manufacture of any countries within the said limits, into any ports in the United Kingdom which may be provided with warehouses, together with wet docks or basins, or such other securities as shall, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, be fit and proper for the deposit and safe custody of all such goods, wares, and merchandize, as well as for the collection of all duties payable thereon, and shall have been so declared by the orders of his Majesty in Council in Great Britain, or by the order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in Ireland. Provided always, that copies of all such orders in Council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the session next ensuing

4 Resolved, That as long as the Government of India shall be administered under the authority of the said Company according to the provisions, limitations, and regulations hereafter to be enacted, the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the territorial acquisitions in India shall, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, with the several charges and stipulated payments to which the revenues are subject, be applied and disposed of according to the following order of preference

In the first place, in defraying all the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, artillery and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores Secondly, in the payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may hereafter be incurred, by the said Company in India,

Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments at the several settlements there Fourthly, that the whole or any part of any surplus that may remain of the above described rents revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before mentioned shall be applied to the provision of the Company's investment in India, in remittances to China for the provision of investments there, or towards the liquidation of debts in India, or such other purposes at the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

5 Resolved, That the receipts into the Company's treasury in England from the proceeds of the sales of their goods, and from the profits arising from private and privileged trade or in any other manner shall be applied and disposed of as follows —First, in payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the Company as the same shall become due Secondly for the current payment of debts (the principal of the bond debt in England always excepted) as well as interest and the commercial charges and expenses of the said Company Thirdly in payment of a dividend of ten pounds per cent. on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company also in the payment of a further dividend of ten shillings per cent upon such capital stock after the separate fund upon which the same was originally charged by the 124th clause of the 33rd Geo. III cap 52 shall have been exhausted the said payment respectively to be made half yearly Fourthly in the reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or of the bond debt at home as the Court of Directors with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

6 Resolved That when the principal of the debt bearing interest in India shall have been reduced to the sum of ten millions of pounds sterling calculated at the exchange of 2s the Bengal current rupee 3s the Madras pagoda and 2s 3d the Bombay rupee, and the bonded debt in England shall

have been reduced to the sum of three millions of pounds sterling, then and thereafter the surplus proceeds which shall be found to arise from the revenues of India, and the profits upon the trade, after providing for the payments aforesaid, shall be applied to the more speedy repayment of the capital of any public funds or securities which have been or may be created for the use of the said Company, the charges of which have been or may be directed to be borne by the said Company in virtue of any act or acts of Parliament, and that any further surplus that may arise shall be set apart, and from time to time paid into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, without any interest to be paid to the Company in respect or for the use thereof, but nevertheless to be considered and declared as an effectual security to the said Company for the capital stock of the said Company, and for the dividend of  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum in respect thereof, not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling, and that of the excess of such payments, if any, beyond the said amount of twelve millions, one-sixth part shall, from time to time, be reserved and retained by the said Company for their own use and benefit, and the remaining five-sixths shall be deemed and declared the property of the public, and at the disposal of Parliament.

7 Resolved, That the said Company shall direct and order their books of account, at their several Presidencies and settlements in India, at their factory in China, at the island of St Helena or elsewhere, and also in England, to be so kept and arranged as that the same shall contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts, and assets, appertaining to, or connected with, the territorial, political, and commercial branches of their affairs, and that the same shall be made up in such manner that the said books shall contain and exhibit the accounts of the territorial and political departments separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the commercial branch of their affairs, and that the arrangement of accounts so to

he made shall be submitted to the approbation and sanction of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India

8 Resolved That it is expedient to make provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers civil and military or increasing the same or creating any new establishments at home, in such manner as may effectually protect the funds of the said Company

9 Resolved That all vacancies happening in the office of Governor General of Fort Willam in Bengal or of Governor of either of the Company's Presidencies or Settlements of Fort St George or Bombay or of Governor of the forts and garrisons of Fort Willam Fort St George or Bombay or of Commander in chief of all the forces in India or of any provincial Commander in chief of the forces there shall continue to be filled up and supplied by the Court of Directors of the said United Company subject nevertheless to the approbation of his Majesty to be signified in writing under his royal sign manual countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India

10 Resolved That the number of his Majesty's troops in India to be in future maintained by the said Company be limited and that any augmentation of force exceeding the number so to be limited shall unless employed at the express requisition of the said Company be at the public charge

11 Resolved That it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons and that adequate provision should be made from the territorial revenues of India for their maintenance

12 Resolved That it is expedient that the statutes and regulations framed, or to be framed by the Court of Directors for the good government of the College established by the East India Company in the county of Hertford and of the Military Seminary of the said Company in the county of Surrey as well as the establishment of offices connected

therewith, or the appointment of persons to fill such offices, be subject to the controul and regulation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, and that the power and authority of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India shall be construed to extend to the issuing or sending orders or instructions to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of their being transmitted to India, respecting the rules and regulations and establishments of the respective colléges at Calcutta and Fort St George or any other seminaries which may be hereafter established under the authority of the local Governments

13 Resolved, That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction amongst them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs provided always, that the authority of the local Governments, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country, be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion be inviolably maintained

## B

In reference to the 13th Resolution we may note that "it was not until the year 1813 that there was anything like a decided manifestation of the will of the Government in connexion with the great subject of Education The Charter Act, passed in that year, contained a clause, enacting that "a sum of not less than a lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the

British territories in India " What this might precisely mean was not very clear but it seemed to point rather to the encouragement of Oriental than of European learning and those were days in which the former was held to be of prodigious account. Nothing however for some years, of a practical character emanated from this decree of the Legislature. The money thus appropriated was left to accumulate, and not until ten years after the Act had passed did the local Government take any steps to carry out its intentions. Then a committee of Public Instruction was established in Calcutta and the arrears of the Parliamentary grant were placed at their disposal ' •

### *Kaye's Administration of the East India Company*

\* *Vide* in this connection the following minute of Lord William Bentinck dated March 7 1835—

" His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the nations of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

" His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions; and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

" It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be employed

His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.

## C

Thus closed a contest in which the first serious blow was inflicted on the monopoly of the East India Company, after it had been enjoyed by them for two centuries. During this period a mighty empire had been raised upon the narrow foundations of exclusive commerce. Upon no other basis could the edifice have been reared. An indiscriminate resort of individual, unconnected, and often hostile competitors could not have been attended with a consistent and enduring course of operations, and must have subjected the trade with India to a feeble and precarious existence, dependent upon the caprice and venality of the subordinate officers of the native governments and momentarily menaced with extinction by the follies and passions, the avarice and ignorance of Asiatic despots. Adventurers isolated and, at variance with each other could have been in no situation to resist injustice, repel aggression, or avenge wrong much less would they have been able to place their commerce in an attitude not merely of defence but of defiance, and to apply the resources which it furnished to the acquirement of political power. In the struggle for sufferance which they would have had to maintain in their limited ambition of effecting a successful trading speculation, it could never have dwelt within their imagination to gain a firm and lasting footing on the soil of India, to put down and set up princes, to seize upon and hold amidst difficulty and danger masterdom and sway. The oneness of the Company for so long a period consolidated their commercial system, enabled them to baffle and defeat rivalry and opposition, to exact retribution for injury, and, as the field expanded, to extend their views beyond the circumscribed horizon of purely commercial profit. At the same time, this result, although inseparable from the system, was neither projected nor foreseen by its authors, and was brought to maturity in spite of their repeated disapproval, or at best with their reluctant and unwilling confirmation. The East



India Company's territorial dominion was not the acquisition of the Company so much as of the Company's servants, who often in disregard of the wishes of their masters, and sometimes in disobedience of their positive commands entered with no common audacity, determination, and foresight, in the promising path which the distracted state of Indian politics laid open to their ambition and with energies and talents of more than ordinary natures applied the superior resources of civilisation to secure rich fragments of the scattered reliques of native misrule and remodelled them into the rudiments of power of infallible future expansion. This was not the work of the Company although it never could have been brought to pass by any other instrumentality than that of the Company's Indian servants. It was the work of Clive of Hastings of Cornwallis, and of Wellesley aided and impelled by the irresistible force of circumstances by the inconsiderateness and temerity of the native princes of India and by the superior energy of the European character.

*Wilson*

## THE CHARTER ACT OF 1833

So rapid had been the march of events under that strange imperial system established in the East by the enterprise and valour of three generations of our countrymen, that each of the periodical revisions of that system was, in effect, a revolution. The legislation of 1813 destroyed the monopoly of the Indian trade. In 1833 the time had arrived when it was impossible any longer to maintain the monopoly of the China trade, and the extinction of this remaining commercial privilege could not fail to bring upon the Company commercial ruin. Skill, and energy, and caution, however happily combined, would not enable rulers who were governing a population larger than that governed by Augustus, and making every decade conquests more extensive than the conquests of Trajan, to compete with private merchants in an open market. England, mindful of the inestimable debt which she owed to the great Company, did not intend to requite her benefactors by imposing on them a hopeless task. Justice and expediency could be reconciled by one course, and one only—that of buying up the assets and liabilities of the Company on terms the favourable character of which should represent the sincerity of the national gratitude. Interest was to be paid from the Indian exchequer at the rate of ten guineas a year on every hundred pounds of stock, the Company was relieved of its commercial attributes, and became a corporation charged with the function of ruling Hindoostan, and its directors, as has been well observed, remained princes, but merchant princes no longer.

The machinery required for carrying into effect this gigantic metamorphosis was embodied in a bill every one of whose provisions breathed the broad, the fearless, and the tolerant spirit with which Reform had inspired our counsels. The earlier Sections placed the whole property of the Company in trust for the Crown, and enacted that “from and after the 22nd day of April 1834 the exclusive right of trading with the dominions of the Emperor of China, and of trading in tea, shall cease.” Then came Clauses which threw open the whole continent of India as a place of residence for all subjects of his Majesty, which pronounced the doom of Slavery, and which ordained that no native of the British territories in the East should “by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment.”

*Trevelyan's Life of Macaulay*

### A

When the time came round again for renewing the Company's charter Lord William Bentinck's peaceful regime had lasted for five years in India, the Reform Act had just been carried in England, and Whig principles were in the ascendant. Bentham's views on legislation and codification were

*Extracts from the dispatch accompanying the Government of India Act 1833 (3 & 4 Will IV s 5)*

No 44, dated the 10th December, 1834. †

From the Board of Directors East India Company to the Government of India.

## I

**Legislation for Europeans in India.**

The Act unsealed for the first time the doors of British India to British subjects of European birth. Hitherto the English in India have been there only on sufferance\*. Now they have acquired a right however qualified to live in the country and even to become occupants of land and there is every prospect of considerable increase of their numbers. It is therefore necessary that the local Government should have full means of dealing with them not merely in extreme cases, and by a transcendental act of authority but in the current and ordinary exercise of its functions, and through the medium of laws carefully made and promptly and impartially administered. On no other conditions could the experiment of a free ingress of Europeans be safely tried.

In whatever way the Europeans may disperse themselves throughout India they will be united together by a powerful sympathy and will in fact maintain a constant communication. It is therefore both just and natural that they should live under the control of the same laws nor would it be easy to legislate in reference to a part of them without keeping in view the whole body. It is especially to be recollected that the task of legislating in India for Europeans naturalized in the country and not dependent on the Government is altogether new and experimental. The difficulties of this task

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† There is a venerable tradition in the India office that this explanatory Despatch was drafted by James Mill.

may have been overrated,) but undoubtedly they are not slight or evanescent, and they would be much aggravated if the different Governments were all armed with co-equal and independent legislative powers, and if they were to proceed to exercise such powers at their discretion respectively, and perhaps with very different views and according to inconsistent principles. While therefore it is important, in reference to the admission of Europeans into the interior, that the Subordinate Governments, commanding as they do different regions of the Empire, should retain their executive capacities, and even that a new station of executive control and management should be added to them in the north of India, yet there seem good reasons for collecting and uniting all the functions of legislation in one central and metropolitan Government

## II

### Slavery--Predial and Domestic

Among the objects to which your legislative deliberations are earliest to be directed is that of the mitigation of the state of slavery with a view to its extinction at the first safe moment. The 38th clause of the Act contains the provisions on this head

This subject in India is one of great delicacy and requiring to be treated with the utmost discretion. There are certain kinds of restraint required, according to native ideas, for the government of families and forming, according both to law and custom, part of the rights of the heads of families Mussulman and Hindu which are not to be included under the title of slavery. In legislating therefore, on slavery though it may not be easy to define the term precisely, it is necessary that the state to which your measures are meant to apply should be described with due care. We think also that your remedial measures should generally begin with the cases of the greatest hardship

accession of this singular body to sovereignty I am utterly at a loss to understand why this epoch should be selected Long before 1765 the Company had the reality of political power Long before that year they made a Nabob of Arcot they made and unmade Nabobs of Bengal they humbled the Vizier of Oude they braved the Emperor of Hindostan himself more than half the revenues of Bengal were under one pretence or another administered by them And after the grant the Company was not in form and name an independent power It was merely a minister of the Court of Delhi Its coinage bore the name of Shah Nam The inscription which down to the time of the Marquess of Hastings appeared on the seal of the Governor General declared that great functionary to be the slave of the Mogul Even to this day we have never formally deposed the King of Delhi The Company contents itself with being Mayor of the Palace while the *Roi Faincant* is suffered to play at being a sovereign In fact, it was considered both by Lord Clive and by Warren Hastings as a point of policy to leave the character of the Company thus undefined In order that the English might treat the princes in whose names they governed as realities or nonentities just as might be most convenient

Thus the transformation of the Company from a trading body which possessed some sovereign prerogatives for the purposes of trade into a sovereign body the trade of which was auxiliary to its sovereignty was effected by degrees and under disguise

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It is true that the power of the Company is an anomaly in politics It is strange, very strange that a joint stock society of traders a society the shares of which are daily passed from hand to hand a society the component parts of which are perpetually changing a society which judging *a priori* from its constitution we should have said was as little fitted for imperial functions as the Merchant Tailors Company or the New River Company should be intrusted with the sovereignty of a larger population the disposal of a larger clear revenue the command of a larger army than are under the direct management of the Executive Government of the United Kingdom But what constitution can we give to our Indian Empire which shall not be strange which shall not be anomalous? That Empire is itself the strangest of all political

anomalies That a handful of, adventurers from an island in the Atlantic should have subjugated a vast country divided from the place of their birth by half the globe, a country which at no very distant period was merely the subject of fable to the nations of Europe, a country never before violated by the most renowned of Western conquerors, a country which Trajan never entered, a country lying beyond the point where the phalanx of Alexander refused to proceed, that we should govern a territory ten thousand miles from us, a territory larger and more populous than France, Spain, Italy, and Germany put together, a territory, the present clear revenue of which exceeds the present clear revenue of any state in the world France excepted, a territory inhabited by men differing from us in race, colour, language, manners, morals, religion, these are prodigies to which the world has seen nothing similar Reason is confounded We interrogate the past in vain General rules are useless where the whole is one vast exception The Company is an anomaly, but it is part of a system where everything is anomaly It is the strangest of all governments, but it is designed for the strangest of all empires.

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In what state did we find India ? And what have we made India ? We found society throughout that vast country in a state to which history scarcely furnishes a parallel The nearest parallel would, perhaps, be the state of Europe during the fifth century The Mogul empire in the time of the successors of Aurungzebe like the Roman empire in the time of the successors of Theodosius, was sinking under the vices of a bad internal administration, and under the assaults of barbarous invaders At Delhi as at Ravenna, there was a mock sovereign, immured in a gorgeous state prison He was suffered to indulge in every sensual pleasure He was adored with servile prostrations He assumed and bestowed the most magnificent titles But, in fact, he was a mere puppet in the hands of some ambitious subject While the Honour and Augustuli of the East, surrounded by their fawning eunuchs, revelled and dozed without knowing or caring what might pass beyond the walls of their palace gardens, the provinces had ceased to respect a government which could neither punish nor protect them Society was a chaos Its restless and shifting elements formed themselves every moment into some

new combination which the next moment dissolved. In the course of a single generation a hundred dynasties grew up flourished decayed were extinguished were forgotten. Every adventurer who could muster a troop of horse might aspire to a throne. Every palace was every year the scene of conspiracies treasons revolutions parricides. Meanwhile a rapid succession of Alans and Atillas passed over the defenceless empire. A Persian invader penetrated to Delhi and carried back in triumph the most precious treasures of the House of Tamerlane. The Afghan soon followed by the same track, to glean whatever the Persian had spared. The Jauts established themselves on the Jumna. The Siks devastated Lahore. Every part of India, from Tanjore to the Himalayas was laid under contribution by the Mahrattas. The people were ground down to the dust by the oppressor without and the oppressor within by the robber from whom the Nabob was unable to protect them by the Nabob who took whatever the robber had left to them. All the evils of despotism and all the evils of anarchy pressed at once on that miserable race. They knew nothing of government but its exactions. Desolation was in their Imperial cities, and famine all along the banks of their broad and redundant rivers. It seemed that a few more years would suffice to efface all traces of the opulence and civilisation of an earlier age.

Such was the state of India when the Company began to take part in the disputes of its ephemeral sovereigns. About eighty years have elapsed since we appeared as auxiliaries in a contest between two rival families for the sovereignty of a small corner of the Peninsula. From that moment commenced a great, a stupendous process the reconstruction of a decomposed society. Two generations have passed away and the process is complete. The scattered fragments of the empire of Aurungzebe have been united in an empire stronger and more closely knit together than that which Aurungzebe ruled. The power of the new sovereigns penetrates their dominions more completely and is far more implicitly obeyed than was that of the proudest princes of the Mogul dynasty.

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In the history and in the present state of our Indian Empire I see ample reason for exultation and for a good hope.

I see that we have established order where we found confusion I see that the petty dynasties which were generated by the corruption of the great Mahometan Empire, and which, a century ago, kept all India in constant agitation, have been quelled by one overwhelming power I see that the predatory tribes which in the middle of the last century passed annually over the harvests of India with the destructive rapidity of a hurricane, have quailed before the valour of a braver and sterner race, have been vanquished, scattered, hunted to their stronghold, and either extirpated by the English sword, or compelled to exchange the pursuits of rapine for those of industry

I contemplate with reverence and delight the honourable poverty which is the evidence of rectitude firmly maintained amidst strong temptations I rejoice to see my countrymen, after ruling millions of subjects, after commanding victorious armies, after dictating terms of peace at the gates of hostile capitals, after administering the revenues of great provinces, after judging the causes of wealthy Zemindars, after residing at the courts of tributary Kings, return to their native land with no more than a decent competence

I see a government anxiously bent on the public good Even in its errors I recognise a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge I see toleration strictly maintained yet I see bloody and degrading superstitions gradually losing their power I see the morality, the philosophy, the taste of Europe beginning to produce a salutary effect on the hearts and understandings of our subjects. I see the public mind of India, that public mind which we found debased and contracted by the worst forms of political and religious tyranny, expanding itself to just and noble views of the ends of government and of the social duties of man

I see evils but I see the government actively employed in the work of remedying those evils The taxation is heavy, but the work of retrenchment is unsparingly pursued The mischief arising from the system of subsidiary alliance are great but the rulers of India are fully aware of those mischiefs and are engaged in guarding against them Wherever they now interfere for the purpose of supporting a native government they interfere also for the purpose of reforming it

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One word as to the new arrangement which we propose with respect to the patronage. It is intended to introduce the principle of competition in the disposal of writerships and from this change I cannot but anticipate the happiest results. The civil servants of the Company are undoubtedly a highly respectable body of men and in that body as in every large body there are some persons of very eminent ability. I rejoice most cordially to see this. I rejoice to see that the standard of morality is so high in England that intelligence is so generally diffused through England that young persons who are taken from the mass of society by favour and not by merit and who are therefore only fair samples of the mass should when placed in situations of high importance be so seldom found wanting. But it is not the less true that India is entitled to the service of the best talents which England can spare. That the average of intelligence and virtue is very high in this country is matter for honest exultation. But it is no reason for employing average men where you can obtain superior men. Consider too Sir how rapidly the public mind of India is advancing how much attention is already paid by the higher classes of the natives to those intellectual pursuits on the cultivation of which the superiority of the European race to the rest of mankind principally depends. Surely in such circumstances, from motives of selfish policy if from no higher motive we ought to fill the magistracies of our Eastern Empire with men who may do honour to their country with men who may represent the best part of the English nation. This Sir is our object and we believe that by the plan which is now proposed this object will be attained. It is proposed that for every vacancy in this civil service four candidates shall be named and the best candidate selected by examination. We conceive that under this system the persons sent out will be young men above par young men superior either in talents or in diligence to the mass. It is said I know that examinations in Latin in Greek, and in the mathematics, are no tests of what men will prove to be in life. I am perfectly aware that they are not infallible tests but that they are tests I confidently maintain. Look at every walk of life at this House at the other House at the Bar at the Bench at the Church and see whether it be not true that those who attain high distinction in the world were generally men who were distinguished in their academic career.

Indeed Sn this objection would prove far too much even for those who use it. It would prove that there is no use at all in education. Why should we put boys out of their way? Why should we force a lad who would much rather fly a kite or trundle a hoop to learn his Latin Grammar? Why should we keep a young man to his Euclides or his Laplace, when he would much rather be shooting? Education would be mere useless torture if at two or three and twenty a man who had neglected his studies were exactly on a par with a man who had applied himself to them exactly as likely to perform all the offices of public life with credit to himself and with advantage to society. Whether the English system of education be good or bad is not now the question. Perhaps I may think that too much time is given to the ancient languages and to the abstract sciences. But what then? Whatever be the languages, whatever be the sciences which it is in any age or country, the fashion to teach the persons who become the greatest proficient in those languages and those sciences will generally be the flower of the youth, the most acute, the most industrious the most ambitious of honourable distinctions. If the Ptolemaic system were taught at Cambridge instead of the Newtonian the senior wrangler would nevertheless be in general a superior man to the wooden spoon. If instead of learning Greek, we learned the Cherokee the man who understood the Cherokee best, who made the most correct and melodious Cherokee verses, who comprehended most accurately the effect of the Cherokee particles, would generally be a superior man to him who was destitute of these accomplishments. If astrology were taught at our Universities, the young man who cast nativities best would generally turn out a superior man. If alchemy were taught, the young man who showed most activity in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone would generally turn out a superior man.

I will only add one other observation on this subject. Although I am inclined to think that too exclusive an attention is paid in the education of young English gentlemen to the dead languages, I conceive that when you are choosing men to fill situations for which the very first and most indispensable qualification is familiarity with foreign languages, it would be difficult to find a better test of their fitness than their classical acquirements.

Some persons have expressed doubts as to the possibility of

procuring fair examinations. I am quite sure that no person who has been either at Cambridge or at Oxford can entertain such doubt. I feel indeed that I ought to apologise for even noticing an objection so frivolous.

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## XIV

## III. MUTINY PROCLAMATION

*Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs,  
and People of India\*.*

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government, and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgment of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said

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\* Calcutta Gazette, Nov. 1, 1858

territories and to administer the government thereof in our name and generally to act in our name and on our behalf subject to such orders and regulations as he shall from time to time receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices civil and military all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company subject to our future pleasure and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others

We shall respect the rights dignity and honour of native princes as our own and we desire that they as well as our own subjects should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects and those obligations by the blessing of Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith or observances but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and

impartial protection of the law and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State, and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field, we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows —

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having

directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers knowing them to be such or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt their lives alone can be guaranteed but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon amnesty and oblivion of all offence against ourselves our crown and dignity on their return to their home and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When by the blessing of Providence internal tranquillity shall be restored it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength in their contentment our security and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

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## APPENDIX A.

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Minute of Mr Shore, on the Permanent Settlement of the Lands in Bengal and proposed Resolutions thereon

Recorded on the 18th September 1789

Extract, Bengal Revenue Consultations, 18th September 1789

Mr Shore delivers the following Minute and draft of proposed resolutions

1 —My time, since I had last the honor of attending the Board, had been occupied in perusing the replies of Collectors of the Fussyly districts to the references made to them under dates the 11th August 1788, and 20th May 1789, on the subject of the intended permanent settlement, and with a view to assist the deliberations of the Board, and to enable them to form decisive resolutions upon this important subject, I have collected all the material information which has occurred, and shall now state it, with my own observations upon the whole

2 —It may be proper to premise, that the Minute which I delivered for record, upon the 18th June last, on the revenues of this country, related to the districts of Bengal only, and had no reference to the divisions of this country, which pay their rents according to the Fussyly year I have formerly remarked, that between Bengal and Behar there are many important distinctions, both in principle and practice, and in determining the system of management for regulating and collecting the revenues of these two provinces, these distinctions should not be disregarded the most material of them, are as follows —

1st —In Bengal the zemindaries are very extensive, and that of Burdwan alone is equal in produce, to three-fourths of the rental of Behar, in which province, the zemindaries are comparatively small The power and influence of the principal zemindars in Bengal is proportionably great, and they have been able to maintain a degree of independence, which the inferior zemindars of the Behar province have lost The latter also, having been placed under the authority of a provincial administration, from distance as well as comparative



inferiority have been precluded from that information which the zemindars of Bengal from their vicinity to Calcutta, and their access to the members and officers of Government, have been able to obtain the latter have acquired ideas of right, and sound principles of conduct, or reasoning which do not extend to the zemindars of Behar

2dly —The proprietors of the soil in Behar universally claim and possess a right of malikana which whenever they are dispossessed of the management of their lands, they receive from the aumil as well as from the tenants of the jaghirs and proprietors of altumghas. In Bengal no such custom has ever been formally established although there is some affinity between this and the allowance of moshaira

3dly —The lands of Behar have from time immemorial been let to farm, and no general settlement, as far as we can trace since the acquisition of the Dewanny has been concluded between Government and the real proprietors of the soil. The Collector of Sarun asserts that this has ever been the usage in the districts under his charge. The aumil or farmer has deemed himself entitled to avail himself of the agency of the zemindars and talookdars, or dispense with it, at his own discretion. This power was formally delegated to the farmers in 1774, by the provincial Council at Patna, with the sanction of the superior authority at Calcutta, and the rate of malikana was then settled for the dispossessed proprietors of the land at 10 per cent. as the ancient allowance agreeable to the constitution of the country Government.

4thly —The numerous grants of lands in Behar under various denominations, have had an influence upon the proprietary rights of the zemindars and talookdars, and upon their opinions of those rights. There are few instances of jaghirs in Bengal I cannot recollect more than three or four

5thly —The custom of dividing the produce of the land in certain proportions between the cultivator and the Government, or the Collector who stands in its place is general but not universal, throughout Behar. In Bengal, the custom is very partial and limited

6thly —The settlement in Behar whether by the aumil or manager on the part of Government, is annually formed upon an estimate of the produce. In Bengal, the mofussil farmers, with some exceptions collect by different rules

In Behar, the functions of the mofussil canongoes, however they may have been perverted, have not been superseded and their accounts, admitting the uncertainty of them, furnish detailed information of the rents, which is not procurable in Bengal from the same sources'

3 The preceding circumstances will sufficiently account for what is actually the case—the very degraded state of the proprietors of the soil in Behar, comparatively with those in Bengal. The former, unnoticed by Government, and left at the mercy of the aumil, have in fact considered themselves as proprietors only of tythe, of their real estates, and assured of this when dispossessed, they have been less anxious to retain a management, which exposed them to the chance of losing a part of what they received without it. The neglect of Government with respect to their situation, is very apparent from the mokurrery grants of entire pergunnahs upon individuals, without any stipulations in favour of the zemindars and talookdars holding property within them.

4 I know but three principal zemindars at present in Behar, the Rajahs of Tirhoot Shahabad, and Sunnote Tekarry. Their jurisdiction comprehends much more than their actual property, and extends over numerous land-holders possessing rights as fixed and indefeasible, as their own. With respect to this class of proprietors, the superior zemindars are to be considered in the light of aumils only, and I think it probable that the origin of their jurisdiction arose, either from their influence with the supreme provincial authority, or from the facility of such a plan for managing and collecting the revenue. In this point of view, it has its advantages although it is attended with this obvious evil, that it is the interest of the principal zemindars to throw additional burthens upon the inferior proprietors of the soil, with a view to save his own lands, and augment their value.

5 There is an apparent analogy between the talookdars in Bengal situated within the jurisdiction of a principal zemindar, and that of the proprietors of the soil of Behar in a similar predicament, but in their reciprocal rights, I understand there exists a material difference. The Muskoory Talookdars of Bengal are dependent upon the zemindar, and have no right to be separated from him, except by special agreement, or in case of oppression, or where their talooks existed previous to the zemindary, neither do they possess the right of malikana. I wish I could account for this important variation from authoritative

information or records but wanting these I can only conjecture the grounds of it, which may be the following that the talookdars in Behar are the original proprietors of the soil whereas in Bengal most of the Muskerry Talookdars have obtained their tenures, by grant or purchase from the zemindars. If this were not the case the talookdars in the principal zemindary jurisdictions in Bengal would I think be more numerous than they are. From the Aumeeny papers it appears that the talookdary jumma of Rajshahy amounts to Rupees 3 70 879 in Nuddea to Rupees 17 059 only and from information in Dinagepore to about Rupees 20 000, and in Burdwan to about Rupees 65 000. The Aumeeny investigation did not extend to the two last districts. In Rajshahy the zemindaries of Sultanabad Amar and Beertebund though comprehended within the jurisdiction of the zemindar of the district, are independent of them and I see no material difference between these places and the inferior zemindars in Behar.

✓ 6 With respect to the malikana in Behar I have in vain endeavoured to trace its origin. If the provincial Council of Patna are correct in their information as to the antiquity of it, which is confirmed by Bustaram, the darogah of the amanut dufter in Behar I should suppose it to have arisen from the custom established in that province of dividing the produce between the cultivator and Government in order to afford the proprietor of the soil a proportion of the produce which, under such an usage strictly enforced he could never receive without some authorized allowance in his favour. Instances have lately occurred and are adverted to in the letters now before the Board for consideration, of zemindars who have obtained a separate grant for their malikana, and have subsisted upon that without any interference in the management of their zemindary lands.

7 I shall now consider the remarks upon the resolutions for the Board containing propositions for the settlement of Behar and the objections of the Collectors to them.

*Resolution 1st.*—That at the expiration of the present Fussilly year a new settlement of Behar be concluded with the actual proprietors of the soil whether zemindars chowdries or independent talookdars and whether at present paying their revenues to Government through other zemindars or not.

8 The objections to this resolution are general and special. It is observed, that the system is calculated to raise upon one description of

men, viz , the zemindars, the misery of another infinitely more numerous, useful and defenceless, that the zemindars being declared in act and name lords paramount of soil their abject and helpless vassals, the ryots, trained up to hereditary submission, will bear in silent dread whatever their imposing tyranny may inflict. The proof of this reasoning rests upon internal evidence, and to argue differently is to reason one way for him, who reasons another for himself.

9 These objections are stated by the Collector of Tirhoot, who, in opposition to a zemindary settlement, contends for the superior advantage of letting the lands in farm, and he is supported in this opinion by the Collector of Circar Sarun. He remarks that comparisons between the farming and zemindary systems are inconclusive, that the former has never had a fair trial, no fixed principle ever marked its progress, but on the contrary, all was diffidence, apprehension and distrust and that experience alone can decide the eligibility of the two systems. A farmer not possessing the same influence as a zemindar, he cannot exert in the same degree, his power and influence to the oppression of the ryots, who will not so readily submit to him.

10 The above is the only argument of a general nature, which I find advanced in the papers before me.

11 I most willingly admit that the fluctuation and uncertainty of the measures of Government, have been ill calculated to promote the success of any system, and so far that of letting the lands to farm has not been supported, as it might have been, but the argument applies with more force in favour of the zemindary plan of settlement, and has always been urged, as a reason for reverting to it. Experience must be the test of all measures, and where the execution of a system depends upon so many agents, possessing in various and unequal degrees, the qualifications necessary for the task, no other test can be appealed to. Permanency is the basis upon which every system ought to be established, and there is no doubt that a farmer holding a lease of ten years would have motives of exertion, which an annual renter does not possess, but it is too much to affirm, that the proprietor of the soil, when he has obtained assurances of security from increasing demands, will want those motives which would stimulate

a farmer on the contrary they ought to be more efficacious as his interest is more deeply concerned

12 The general and fatal incapacity of zemindars has been amply detailed but it is not probable that under our form of Government the evils attending it would be remedied by the substitution of farmers at the discretion of the controlling officer that amongst the natives generally men of abilities experience and capacity superior to the present zemindars in general might be selected is indisputable, but such a plan is in its nature variable Favour and patronage would often direct the choice which without such motives would also be subject to the evils of want of experience and judgment in the person who selected the farmers We are not to depend upon the virtues or abilities of the natives only our reliance must be placed upon the restrictions of our own laws and upon an undeviating enforcement of them and the same zeal and abilities that can control the conduct of a farmer may direct and restrain that of a zemindar admitting self interest, in opposition to public good to have equal operation with regard to both.

13 Mr Bathurst's arguments appear to me to have been suggested by the conduct of Mahdoo Sing the Rajah of Tirhoot, the only principal zemindar under his authority He describes him as incapable nearly an idiot, oppressive tyrannical and faithless, and as abusing his authority by the delegation of it, to improper agents To deduce general conclusions from particular instances, is not fair argument the conduct of Meterjeet Sing the zemindar of Jeekarry is an instance on the other side equally favourable to the zemindars and as far as one example may be admitted as a character of the whole must be opposed to all conclusions derived from the behaviour of Mahdoo Sing but we ought not to reason generally from the conduct of either and unless the proprietors of the soil can be proved liable to disqualifications greater than any other class of people and such as overbalance the comparative advantage of making a settlement with them in preference to any other set of men, and the injustice of taking the management out of their hands, they ought not, upon general principles to be set aside Certain exceptions, in the case of peculiar disqualifications are allowed and there may be further particular reasons for dispensing with the general rules, which however I would establish as universally as possible

14 I do not pretend in this place, to discuss the question in all its extent, as it has been before, fully considered

15 In his letter of the 23rd July 1789, the Collector of Sarun details many objections, which I shall hereafter state, to a settlement with the immediate proprietors of the soil, recommends in preference the employment of farmers, contends for the propriety of this system, and, proposes the plan of a ten years' settlement with 14 farmers for Sarun, and 4 of Champarun, and he gives the following definition of a zemindary in Sarun

“ That it is a portion of land consisting of sundry farms paying “revenue to Government, belonging to numberless proprietors managing their lands, either by themselves or their agents, but acting in “general under a nominal proprietor, called the zemindar, (with whom “they engage for their revenue) having a real property perhaps of a “fiftieth part of the zemindary ”

16 Upon these paragraphs I shall observe, that the objections stated against farmers on the 30th May 1788, ought to be as solid now as they were at that period The propositions of the Collector, on both dates, apply to a ten years' settlement, nor can I reconcile the Collector's definition of a zemindar, or the fact of a zemindary settlement as made in September last with 74 proprietors, with the declared refusal of the zemindars to rent each other's lands, combined with the number of zemindars in Sarun

17 So much as to general objections, with respect to the special, I shall premise that I was not unapprized of the objections which might be made to the first propositions, and expected accordingly that they would be stated, as the mode in which it was conveyed to the Collectors of Behar, was the best calculated to bring them forward in their full force

18 The acting Collectors of Baugepore state that the Muskoory Talookdars are at present dependent upon the zemindars, in the same manner as the latter are upon Government, they are liable to dispossession, and in that case, entitled to a russoom, that to render them independent, would be an infringement of the rights of the zemindars, and the execution of such a plan would be attended with peculiar difficulty, both in ascertaining those who are independent, and in detaching them from the zemindars That the

expectation of such a measure would excite clamorous claims of independence in crowds who are quietly and contentedly subsisting under the ancient custom of the country

19 The Board of Revenue do not consider the Muscoory Talookdars, mentioned by the Acting Collector of Bangalore as intended to be included in the independent talookdars with whom the settlement is to be made of course that the objections of the Acting Collector founded on the jurisdiction exercised over them by zemindars and which they consider as their rights are obviated In this opinion I agree with them

20 The preceding objections, founded upon the dependence of the Muscoory Talookdars are special with regard to Baugleporé the remaining objections may be reduced to the following points

1 The number of zemindars

2 The endless subdivisions of their tenures and enmities subsisting between the various proprietors as well as their individual claims to separate management

3 The state of the property with respect to mortgages, and the difficulty of ascertaining the actual proprietors

4 The difficulty of distinguishing the limits and extent of each zemindary

5 The impoverished state of the proprietors of the soil and the insecurity attending engagements made with them

6 The probability of a deficiency from the inequality of the assessment

7 The time required for making a settlement with different proprietors

8 The expense

21 These objections are stated by the Collectors of Circar Sarun and Tirhoot who have detailed and amplified them I have separated them, for the purpose of considering each more particularly that the difficulties attending the plan may be thoroughly investigated and the importance of them be duly weighed

22 First. The number of the zemindars.

The multiplication of petty renters beyond certain bounds is certainly an evil of considerable magnitude when the form of our Government, and the formality of our proceedings are considered

the attention which must be paid to each, whether in forming the settlements or in collecting the rents, is considerable, and under such circumstances, there is danger that it will be dissipated and ineffective. The Board of revenue will find it difficult, properly and effectually to control such a system, still less, will this be in the power of the Supreme Board.

23 These are objections, which must ever remain, to a settlement with the immediate proprietors of the soil, where the distribution of property is so minute, and if the settlement were to be renewed annually, would be almost insuperable. But on the principle of a permanent settlement with the immediate proprietors of the soil, where the distribution of property is so minute, and if the settlement were to be for a long period, much of the difficulty is removed, as the annual labour of investigating the resources of the renters, and fixing the assessment upon them, is done away,

24 With respect to collecting from a number of petty zemindars the trouble must be considerable, but I do not see that it is insurmountable. That balances will happen in the intermediate kists of the years, is to be apprehended from the dissipation, and inattention of the proprietors, and from the difficulty of a close attention to the detail, but ultimately the lands will prove a security for the recovery of them, and some additional regulations may be made, authorizing the attachment or sale of the lands, whenever the kists shall fall in arrears to a certain degree, during the course of the year. The Board of Revenue do not deem the number of proprietors a sufficient objection to the general rule.

Second — The subdivisions of the tenures, and the enmities subsisting between the various proprietors, as well as their individual claims to separate management

25 The subdivisions of the tenures, as far as they affect the proposed arrangement, may be considered in two points of view, first, where a number of proprietors have a right to a portion of land, which is undivided, and, secondly, where the land stands in the joint names of several, or of one for many, but each proprietor has his separate share in his own possession and management, or in that of an agent for him.

26 In the first case, the settlements must be made with all the proprietors jointly, each answerable for his specific proportion of rent, according to his right, and they must determine amongst themselves in what mode the management is to be made.

27 In the second case, there is no difficulty in determining with whom the settlement shall be made, or from whom the revenues shall be demanded, or whence the balances are to be recovered. The persons in possession, and the lands, are responsible.

28 In the first case, there is a clear rule for the recovery of balances, for where a settlement is made with a number of proprietors jointly, a portion of the land may be separated, and sold, equivalent to



the amount but there are other points of view in which the subject is to be considered —The Collector of Sarun quotes one instance of a village paying 600 rupees revenue and having 52 proprietors supposing the proportions to be four times greater in this instance between the property and proprietors than in others the difficulty of making a settlement with so many or of collecting the revenues from them may be presumed very considerable

29 These difficulties may occur on the following grounds — either when all the proprietors will not attend or will not agree to a manager In either case the determination of the majority in attendance should be binding upon the remainder

30 This decision will I think obviate all difficulties for supposing the proprietors numerous in any degree and that the property is undivided it can hardly ever happen that some will not attend after all however every supposed obstacle arising from the refusal of the proprietors to propose a manager may be obviated by the appointment of a Tahsildar to collect the rents from the ryots after the discharge of the Government's rental to divide the remainder amongst the proprietors according to their respective shares

31 That these difficulties exist at present, must be admitted and they must be overcome, or the collections could not be realized —The Collectors who have stated the objections, ought to have mentioned how the business under the circumstances detailed is carried on and why they are precluded from adopting the same plan as is now followed by the zemindars and farmers

32 Thirdly —The state of the property with regard to mortgages and the difficulty of ascertaining the actual proprietors

These mortgages as explained by the Collector of Sarun who urges the objection most pointedly may be considered in two principal points of view

First, whether the mortgagee has obtained possession of the land and secondly where he has not possession, but by the conditions of the mortgage is entitled to it in case of non payment of the sum borrowed after a specific time

33 In the former case the settlement is to be made with the mortgagee, and if the zemindar is able to discharge his obligation, he will recover possession from him by a suit, and succeed to his engagements In the second the settlement is to be made with the zemindar in possession, and the process above pointed out must be observed by the mortgagee

34 There are other objections to this point, stated upon different grounds which will be considered in their proper place.

35 With respect to the difficulty of ascertaining the proprietors of petty estates It may perhaps in some instances be considerable and yet I should suppose that the mofussil records would point them

out where the majority of proprietors appear, and admit the mutual claims of each other, part of the difficulty is removed, although there should be others unknown the rights of the absentees are not superseded, and, when proved, will be admitted, where many appear, and dispute each other's right the settlement can only be made with those in possession, or a native Collector must be appointed, as before observed. If no proprietors come forward, the same mode must be followed, or the lands be given in farm. The objection is certainly founded on real difficulties which cannot be obviated, without great application and attention but what plan has not its inconveniences and embarrassments

36 Fourth — The difficulty of distinguishing the limits and extent of each zemindary

I do not consider this as material, present possession can be determined, and the limits in general, must be sufficiently ascertained if any disputes arise concerning them they may be adjusted in the Adawlut. The 85th article of the Revenue Regulations, provides for the intermediate management during the litigation. If the limits (as the objection to be well founded, supposes) are very indefinite, how have the collections hitherto been made

37 Fifth — The impoverished state of the proprietors of the soil, and the insecurity attending engagements to be made with them

38 The state of the proprietors is thus substantially described by the Collector of Sarun — That they are, in general, involved in great distress, and their lands mortgaged over and over again both on public and private accounts, to almost their full value, that the proprietors in this situation have made over their lands, or entrusted them to a superior zemindar, who favours the possession with his indulgence and assistance, by procuring for the proprietors continual and occasional loans

39 The inconveniences resulting from this state of things, are thus detailed — That the connection, by the proposed plan of settlement, between the inferior and superior zemindars, will be dissolved, and the former be left without support, consequently, they must fail, that although the sale of the land should indemnify the Government from loss, the proprietor will be ruined by the sale of his lands, proceeding from a want of support and assistance

40 The Collector further states, that, from extensive enquiries made by him upon this business, it by no means appears that the proprietors are themselves anxious for the establishment of a system, which they consider as exposing them to trouble and distress, without any adequate advantage

41 Extravagance and mismanagement are assigned as the causes of the distress of the zemindars, and it may be admitted, that such, as by these means, have reduced themselves to depend upon expedients for support, may want the inclination or resolution to resume the

management of their estates and take upon themselves a responsibility to the discharge of which they are unequal. Experience in common life is in favour of this reasoning. To face heavy distress, and overcome it, often requires a degree of resolution to which persons in this unfortunate situation are unequal.

42 For where the zemindars are involved in great distress and are liable to the demands of numerous creditors, they will probably foresee the necessity of parting with some portion of their rents in order to pacify them and in all cases of incapacity a failure may ensue with regard to their public payment, which must be made good by a sale of the lands. But the objection as far as relates to the personal interest of the zemindars applies equally to the existing system, by which they must be involved in total ruin for if they subsist by loans which they can never discharge (and from the Collector's account, this appears to be the case) the accumulation of debt must at last sink them.

43 Their case, as described seems desperate under any plan, yet the chance of relief is greater where they take the management of their own lands than where they lessen their profits, by resigning them to the management of others and if their present distress may in any degree be supposed to originate from the revenue system as heretofore established in Behar it is the interest and duty of Government to afford them a chance of relief by a change of management. Those who have capacity for the task, will probably obtain relief with those who want it, or the means of promoting the cultivation of their estates or are driven by the distress in which they are involved to unfrugal expedients, their final ruin may be precipitated but the foundation is already laid in existing evils, to which and not to the proposed system, their ruin must be imputed.

44 With proprietors of this description if a settlement be made neither they nor the State will immediately benefit by it hereafter the introduction of more frugal or able managers will be advantageous to the latter. As property becomes more valuable the care of managing it will increase.

45 To the concluding remark of the Collector of Sarun, it may be sufficient to reply—that in directing him to make a settlement with the immediate proprietors of the soil they are not compelled to enter into engagements. It is optional with them to engage or decline if they do embrace the offer made to them the risk is their own, and they must stand to the consequence of it or if they think it will be more advantageous to them to resign the management to a principal zemindar I see no objection to the measure.

46 Sixth.—The probability of a deficiency from the inequality of the assessment.

47 This objection is founded on a supposition that, under the present system of combining many petty zemindars under one principal, the deficiency in one is supplied by the profits of another and the

sum total payable to Government made good, whereas by separating them, the deficiency will be unprovided for

48 The fundamental inequality ought to be corrected by the knowledge and ability of the Collector, by reducing the assessment where too heavy and by increasing it where it admits supposing this to be done, the objection no longer remains, and this indeed appears to be effected by the present zemindars, though in a mode less regular

49. I acknowledge the task to be very difficult, if the greatest precision be required, but the regularity of the mofussil accounts in Behar, renders an operation easier in that province than it would be in Bengal, where they cannot be procured with the same facility

50. Seventh —The time required for making a settlement with the different proprietors

51 From the declarations of Messrs Bathurst and Montgomerie, we cannot entertain hopes that the settlement will be accomplished by them, in one year, and perhaps not in two Admitting this, the ten years' settlement cannot at once be effected, but must be completed gradually, pergunnah by pergunnah, and the old system of a yearly assessment, where the new cannot be introduced, be continued for the present In those places where the new plan is unattempted, the settlement must be made, upon the general regulations of the 25th April 1788

52 Eighth —The expense

This is stated by the Acting Collector of Bauglepore at 4,800 rupees, by the Collector of Sarun, at 47,880 rupees, and by the Collector of Tirhoot, at 92,250 per annum

53 Why this heavy expense, in the two last instances, should be incurred, I am at a loss to conceive The charges attending the appointment of Tahasildars must be considerable, but considering them in the light of substitutes for farmers, the amount ought not to fall upon Government, that is, it ought to be made good, by realizing an amount equal to it In the same manner as the expenses of the former are provided for, those of Government ought to be supplied, or nearly so, allowing all operations to be carried on by Government, at a greater charge than an individual would incur

54 I should therefore hope that, with more particular information and further experience, the Collectors of Sarun and Tirhoot will discover the possibility of reducing the expenses, or the means of providing for them The deduction from the gross payments of the ryots ought to be less under the proposed system, than under the former, as it admits of more economy The zemindar, who supports with loans or credit the inferior land-holders, is paid in proportion to his risk, which is again to be estimated by the distresses of the borrower, and the malikana and kurcha must be at all events deducted The Collector of Behar states the expenses of a native Collector over a

pergunnah yielding two or three lacks of rupees, upon the principle of a village assessment, at 2 per cent.

55 The Board must however consider and determine upon the objection of the expense supposing ultimately a necessity of incurring it, in the degree stated. The question is—whether we are authorized to establish it, at an expense so great as that stated by the Collectors of Tirboot and Sarun and I think a trial under the suggestions now pointed out, should be made previous to an absolute decision upon it.

56 I acknowledge that I consider the necessity of introducing Tahsildars, or native Collectors which is essential to the proposed plan, as a principal inconvenience attending it. This officer stands between the inferior tenants and the Collector supplying the place of a Sudder farmer. I do not think the substitution attended with such great advantages as it may apparently have. Government can never afford to reward the Tahsildars in a degree sufficient to preclude temptation and must rely upon its coercion over them but coercion cannot be exercised without understanding the detail of the duties committed to their management. If it be contended that the Tahsildar is liable to dismissal and that therefore, the principle of coercion is stronger with respect to him than in the case of a farmer who cannot be dismissed on the other hand it may be observed that extortion in the latter may be punished by fine and damages, and that he has in self-interest, under the supposition of a permanent system a greater motive to restrain him than a native Collector. The latter will regulate his conduct by the estimate which he forms of the abilities of the Collector under whose authority he is placed. If he knows him to be vigilant, active and well informed he will be cautious, diligent, and honest. If he supposes him to be otherwise and that he can misbehave with impunity he will intrigue with under renters, or abuse his influence with hold true knowledge and impose upon his principal by misinformation. The plan in its detail, by fixing the rents removes a grand opportunity of abuse in the Tahsildar.

57 The objections which I have gone through, may be reduced in great measure to the detail of the system and the difficulty of executing and controlling it. The Collector of Tirboot with great candour acknowledges this and with a diffidence which is highly to his honour observes, that many evils must inevitably present themselves under the superintendence of men of an ordinary stamp in the execution of systems adapted to the genius and comprehension of a favoured few.

58 I most certainly agree with him, that systems of management should be adapted to ordinary capacities and so far an objection lies against a plan which requires a considerable degree of knowledge and great exertions but on the other hand when the object of the system is considered the establishing the proprietors of the soil in the management of their lands and rents the importance and justice of the consideration ought to weigh against arguments founded on convenience alone, and a trial should at least be made particularly since we find it practicable in some instances.

59. Upon the whole, I do not see sufficient objections to supersede the first proposition, which is the foundation of all the rest Two points are necessary to be attended to —

First — That the instructions for the execution be more detailed and calculated to point out, for the information of the Collectors, the mode by which the present difficulties, as far as we can judge of them, may be removed

Secondly — That the settlement with the proprietors be progressively and partially formed, so that knowledge and experience may be gradually acquired, and the difficulties in one place be surmounted, before the plan is attempted in another

*Resolution* 2nd — That the settlement be made for a period of ten years certain, with a notification that, if approved by the Court of Directors, it will become permanent, and no further alteration take place, at the expiration of the ten years

60 Objections to this are stated by the Collectors of Sarun and Baugle pore those of the former, have been enumerated and considered

61 The Collector of Tirhoot does not specifically object to the resolution, though he does virtually, by proposing another different in principle, viz That it be declared, a final settlement will be made at the end of the ten years, according to the assets of the country, at that time The Collector of Baugle pore assumes other grounds — the imperfections and abuses which at present exist, in the system of the mofussil collections, that the zemindars and farmers making it a rule to collect in whatever manner their predecessors collected, unless there are stipulations to the contrary, every unjust and destructive custom will become in some degree sanctioned

62 To this I shall first reply, admitting what I believe to be true, that we are not fully informed of all the abuses which are practised by zemindars, farmers, and their officers, in the detail of the collection, or fully prepared to correct in every instance such as we know or presume to exist, by specific regulations, much may however be done, and many rules may be established for remedying existing evils, and if the country has supplied the resources for so long a period, subject, during it, to the great abuses affirmed to exist, it ought to be in a much better condition at the end of ten years, than it is at present, supposing regulations established and enforced, which is certainly practicable,

besides as many of these abuses have arisen from annual settlements and the necessity which the renters have thereby been under of resorting to unthrifty expedients for making good their engagements, the cause being removed the effect may in some degree be expected to cease. As to Mr Bathurst's proposition I agree with the Board of Revenue in deeming it unnecessary and impolitic unnecessary because it will be in the power of Government to adopt such a principle at the expiration of the ten years if then judged more advisable than the confirmation of the existing settlement and impolitic because the previous declaration might tend to discourage industry and improvement.

63 As to the assurance proposed to be made to the proprietors that if the settlement be approved by the Court of Directors, it will become permanent, and no further alteration take place at the expiration of the ten years, I entertain some doubts of its propriety

64. The intention of making it, is to give fuller confidence to the proprietors of the soil than a ten years lease will afford. I am not sure that it will have this effect in any material degree to those who have subsisted upon annual expedients a period of ten years is a term nearly equal in estimate to perpetuity. The advantages of the last years of this period, must depend upon their exertions during the first, and if these are neglected in the outset, few of these zemindars will be in possession of their lands half the prescribed term. Their own security without the declaration, requires exertions in the beginning of the lease

65 Towards the close of it, or after some years have elapsed when they are become sensible of the advantages of a permanent system and have acquired a confidence in the assurance of Government, and the stability of its measures (and experience alone will teach it) then they will be anxious for the confirmation of a system which they find advantageous. There may be particular instances to the contrary but, generally I conceive that the natives would receive such a declaration without much confidence in it, referring their belief to time and experience. If it be admitted that their confidence in public measures and declarations has been shaken by the fluctuation of system this reasoning will be just.

66 But it may be asked, what positive objections occur to the declaration? In my opinion, the following

67. That we cannot answer for the confirmation of it, and if it be not confirmed, the confidence of the natives will be shaken. For if they act upon the declaration, it must be under a conviction that it is well founded, and if this conviction be afterwards done away, they will suspect all assurances. It is true that nothing certain is promised, but those who rely upon the certainty of the notification, will, if they are disappointed, conclude that it was meant to deceive them. With others, who are not stimulated by it, the declaration is of no importance.

68. But it may be further asked, what reason have I to suppose it will not be confirmed? My answer to this is, that whatever confidence we ourselves have in the propriety of the measures which we mean to adopt, we cannot pronounce absolutely upon their success, without experience, and before we recommend the perpetual confirmation of a general measure of so much importance, we ought to have that experience. I am not sure that the plan will be executed with such ability, as to justify a recommendation of its confirmation in perpetuity — of this, we can only judge, when we have seen the progress and conclusion of the settlement.

*Resolution* 3rd — That the jumma which each zemindar is to pay, be fixed by the Collector on fair and equitable principles, with the reserve of the approbation of the Board of Revenue, to whom the Collector is to report the grounds of the decision on the jumma, according to the best accounts which he can procure of the value of the lands, without a measurement of them. That if he should deem it eligible, he may call upon the zemindars to deliver in proposals for renting their lands, but that this judgment is in the first instance to determine the amount.

69. With respect to the Huzzoory mehals of Bauglepore, the Acting Collector observes that, with such information as stands recorded in the Cutcherry, joined with experience and local knowledge, the jumma may be fixed, with sufficient exactness and the Collector of Tirhoot, in stating the mode of fixing the jumma at present, gives a rule for his own conduct, viz — The jumma of each village is taken for four years, or sometimes more, and the prospect of the current year's produce considered, when the aumil and the malik or proprietor, agree to the medium jumma.



70. This last seems a very fair rule but how the information pointed out can be obtained without some examination of the putwarries accounts and without the discrimination mentioned by Mr Bathurst, I am at a loss to conjecture

71. The objections to this rule will in a great measure be obviated if time be allowed the Collectors for finishing the task prescribed in it and this must be done

72. The Board should however determine what is meant by fair and equitable principles and I would accordingly propose the following definition

73. That the average products of the land for common years say of three or four be assumed as the basis of the settlement and that from this a deduction be made equal to the mallkana and kurtcha. The Collectors must of course take care that the produce be duly ascertained. In any case of great uncertainty they may be authorized to measure the lands but this should only be done on the grounds of particular necessity and a report be made to the Board of Revenue whenever it is undertaken. There is some difference between this proposition, and that for the settlement of Bengal. The prevailing system in Behar allows the investigation of the mofussil accounts in that province with more facility than in Bengal, where they cannot be procured without much labour expense and delay

*Resolution 4th*—That the gunges bazaars haunts and other maver collections, be not included in any settlement with any zemindar but that for the present they remain under the exclusive jurisdiction of an officer appointed by the Collector who is to propose such regulations as he may think best calculated for regulating and collecting the duties

74. Amongst the objections urged to this proposition I find one only stated against it as an invasion of the zemindary rights and this is very pointedly made by the Acting Collector of Baugle pore who observes that, on asking the sentiments of a zemindar upon the separation proposed he replied with sudden emphasis that Government if it pleased might take from him his whole zemindary

75. If the same objection existed in other parts of Behar I conclude it would have been stated. The reason why it is not, may possibly be this that the system of management adopted in Behar for so many years, having been calculated to destroy all ideas of right

in the proprietors of the soil, beyond their admitted claims to a tithe of their proprietary rights they consider all besides this, at the discretion of Government, whereas in Bauglepore, the management has partaken more of the nature of that established in Bengal and the zemindars will urge their claims with a confidence proportioned to it

76 If this were not the case, I should conclude that the principle recommended ought to be extended to the gunges and sayer held and collected by the proprietors and tenants of the altumgha and jaghire lands, for, as far as right is concerned, I see no reason why that of the zemindars should be invaded, whilst men of another description are left unmolested, nor if public utility only be consulted, why the inconveniences resulting from variable rates in one instance, and the number of managers, should not operate equally to prove the necessity of a reform in another, and the propriety of undertaking it

77 In Bengal, I conceive most of the zemindars would argue in the manner pointed out by the Acting Collector of Bauglepore, nor do I think the observation of the Board of Revenue a sufficient reply to it. That, considering the actual practice of the Government they were subject to, long before the administration of their present rulers, the adoption of the settlement would leave them no ground of complaint, and that in general, they would agree to relinquish the sayer collections, to obtain a permanent assessment of their lands, is a doubtful opinion—they ought and must submit, but that the submission would be voluntary cannot be affirmed, but a Government should consider what is right in itself, and not merely be influenced by the opinions of its subjects

78 In the propositions for the settlement of Bengal, I extended the regulations regarding the gunges as far as I could, without a declared violation of proprietary right, but the arguments against the measure in Bengal, are much stronger than in Behar, to which the present discussion applies, and I shall hereafter state them.

79. The distribution of property in the Behar province, obviates an objection, which, from a different state of things, would occur to the measure in Bengal.

80 Admitting therefore, for the present, that the zemindars do not in that province, contend for the right of possession with respect to the gunges, the question goes to the propriety of the measure, and to the extent in which it shall be carried into execution.

89 The different cases which he states are possible but intentional fraud when proved may be punished legally by fine and damages. He supposes a zemindar to have mortgaged a certain number of his villages, and that to prevent the mortgagee obtaining possession he will overvalue the produce as the possession of the land will entail an annual loss upon the mortgagee he will renounce his claim rather than prosecute it. He reverses the case by supposing the mortgagee in possession but this can only be possible where the mortgagee is a principal zemindar possessing many other villages

90 A general regulation may be formed to correct this practice but I would leave it to the Collectors to distribute the assessment or demand from the zemindars the distribution as he may think proper adopting in the latter case such correction as from information he may be enabled to make

91 The term of three months I consider too short for preparing this record in whatever manner it be done and would extend it at least to the first year of the lease

*Resolution 6th* — That if there are villages of which there are no proprietors the settlement of them be made with a farmer for the term of ten years.

92 Upon this resolution the following queries have been made —

93 The Collector of Behar requires information, whether the farmer's son or heir is to succeed to the lease — 2 The Collector of Shahabad states the following questions —

First. Whether villages of which there are no proprietors shall all be let out to one farmer or in different lots, to different teekadars Secondly whether the farmers or teekadars of such villages are to receive a similar assurance to that given to zemindars of a Mukurrery at the end of ten years or not

94 The decision of the first query should be left open I think to the discretion of the Government. Where the heirs are capable I see no objection to confirming them in possession during the remainder of the lease if they are willing to undertake it where they are minors or females or where the succession to the property of the deceased farmer is disputed by many the remainder of the lease may be better disposed of In a contingency of this nature the convention ought to be reciprocal between the parties concerned in it. To the

queries proposed by the Collector of Shahabad, I think the following answer should be given —

95 The villages be not all made over to one farmer, but, disposed of in lease to several, according to their value and situation, and the character and responsibility of the farmer

96 To the second, that a promise of Mokurrery at the end of the lease be not made, for the reasons which I have assigned under the former resolution, as well as on the suggestion of the Board of Revenue

*Resolution 7th*—That the sudder kistbundy be so regulated, as to afford the zemindars all possible convenience in the discharge of their rents with a due regard to the security of Government, and that the Collectors report whether any and what inconvenience would ensue, from extending the period of the sudder kistbundy to two months instead of one

97 I shall quote the observation of the Board of Revenue, on the remark made by the Collector of Behar on this resolution that it appears to apply only to the first part of the resolution, the regulation of the sudder kistbundy, according to the convenience of the renters

98 I am decidedly of opinion, that the kistbundy ought to be monthly, and that the reasons stated against the extension of it, are solid, the alteration would be attended with risk, which prudence ought to avoid

*Resolution 8th*—That, as the number of persons paying revenue immediately to Government, may, in consequence of forming a settlement with the zemindars, be greatly increased, the Collectors report if it will be necessary and advisable to appoint Tahsildars to receive the revenue, from a certain number of the land-holders, and whether any and what additional expense will be required on this account

99 My remarks upon this have been already detailed With respect to the expense, I see no reason to apprehend that the establishment of Tahsildars, will diminish the resources either in Shahabad or Behar In the districts of Tirhoot and Sarun, where the increase of charges are stated enormously high, we shall be better enabled to judge, when some progress is made in the settlement, as this will be progressive, the expense will of course keep with it.

*Resolution 10th*—That unless any objections, arising from the insufficiency of the number of sicca Rupees in circulation should occur all engagements between Government and the zemindars talookdars and farmers be made in sicca Rupees and that no other species of rupees be received in payment of the revenues and if any such objections should occur that the Collectors be required to detail them and to state their opinion with as much accuracy as they may be able as to the additional number of sicca Rupees which it would be necessary to introduce into the circulation of their respective districts to enable the zemindars, talookdars and farmers to pay their revenues in that specie

100. The stated insufficiency of the sicca Rupees in circulation is an insuperable obstacle to the immediate declaration of this specie alone being the legal tender of payment.

101. The information given in the last part of this proposition is not so ample as I could wish. Indeed, it may be presumed of difficult attainment. The following is all that I can collect upon it

102. In Tirhoot, the Saraut Rupees with respect to sicca are stated in the proportion of two to one

103. In Purneah, the sicca Rupees are said to make no part of the actual circulation, and never amount to a considerable quantity that to carry the resolution into effect, the currency must be changed and a number of sicca Rupees equal to the whole circulation, be introduced. This is estimated at twenty lacks of rupees. In Circar Sarun the quantity of siccas required for the circulation is stated at one year's produce

104. The objections to the resolution and the grounds on which they stand are as follows —

That the ryots pay what they receive for the produce of their goods, which are not siccas the zemindar what they collect from them by impelling the zemindars to pay siccas. The compulsion extends through the under renters to the ryots, upon whom the weight of the shroffage ultimately falls.

105. The resolution would afford an opportunity for the greatest impositions upon the ryots

106. But although there are objections to compelling the zemindars and renters to make good their payments in sicca Rupees, I agree with the Board of Revenue, in the propriety of the resolution,—

That all engagements between Government and zemindars and talookdars should be in sicca Rupees, and that further, a clause should be inserted, obliging them to pay the same species of rupees to the Collectors, as they receive from their under-tenants ,

107 This clause has a reference to the future regulation of the coinage, when, in consequence of the proposed coinage, sicca Rupees became more in quantity The zemindars and talookdars, without the clause, may protract the progress of the coinage, by an intermediate exchange of the sorts which they received for the sicca species

108 I agree with the Board of Revenue in the propriety of establishing printed forms of Pottahs, as suggested by the Collector of Behar, but they cannot, I think, be prepared in time, for the new settlement I wish also to know, if the proposition is meant to extend to the Pottahs given by the zemindars to their under-tenants

109 The Collector of Shahabad states also an important query—whether, after the conclusion of the settlement, the zemindars are to be allowed to borrow money, on the credit of their estates, or to dispose by sale or otherwise, of such estates or any parts thereof, registering such sales or transfers in the Collector's Cutcherry, for the purpose of ascertaining from whom the revenue of Government is demandable.

110 The Collector of Behar, in an address to the Board of Revenue, of the 13th July 1788, which was submitted to the decision of this Board, proposed an alteration of the 53rd and 56th Articles of the Revenue Regulations, the former of which, prohibits the conferring of any grants of lands, or authorizing any alienations, sale, mortgage or other transfer of landed property, without the express sanction of the Board of Revenue, and the latter prohibits the sale of lands belonging to any zemindar or other proprietor, without the previous and express sanction of the Board of Revenue, which could not be given, without that of the Supreme Board

111 I have always proceeded with caution, in recommending alteration of the public regulations The restriction conveyed in the 23rd Article existed long before the date of the regulations referred to, and was suggested originally, I believe, with a view to prevent collusive transfers, and particularly to guard against the influence of the public officers over the zemindars

112 As it now stands with respect to Behar, considering the great distance of that province from the seat of Government, it must

operate virtually to the prohibition of all transfers, to the depreciation of real property and the evident inconvenience and distress of the proprietors in many cases.

113 I would therefore propose the revocation of the 53rd Regulation with respect to Behar and that the question of the Collector of Shahabad should be answered in the affirmative. A new regulation must of course be substituted in lieu of that annulled, with the necessary cautions and provisions. It is not absolutely necessary that it should form a part of the present instructions. The notification of the permission will be at present sufficient for the renters.

114 With respect to the 56th Regulation it cannot be rescinded without a deviation, from the orders of the Court of Directors nor would I independent of this recommend it. The power of distraining may be delegated to the Collectors this will be sufficient for them, and the sale be postponed for the orders of the Supreme Board as at present.

115 In all cases where the zemindars have resigned the management of their lands relating possession of the malikana or tithes it should I think, be established as a general rule that the whole be re-annexed and that they be required to enter into engagements for the whole zemindary including the malikana. The terms of the lease will in this case be regulated by the definition of the terms of the third resolution. If they decline the settlement should be made with others, and the zemindar receive his malikana in money.

116 All grants of malikana confirmed by the Supreme authority are of course to be excepted from this rule and should be reported and we must establish provisions for cases in which the malikana, after authorized separation, may have been mortgaged or sold.

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## 3 APPENDIX B.

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### MR SHORE DELIVERS THE FOLLOWING MINUTE

I have perused, with deliberate attention, the Minute of the Governor-General, in opposition to two points, in the proposition which I submitted to the Board. The question at present between us is, whether a notification shall be made to the proprietors of the soil in Behar, that the settlement, if approved by the Court of Directors, will become permanent, and no further alteration to take place at the end of the ten years. My opinion is, that it ought not to be made because the declaration will produce little, if any, advantages, whilst it may be attended, with great inconvenience. The Governor-General, on the contrary, contends, that great benefit will result from the declaration, that it will be attended with no inconvenience, and that the suppression of it will be in the highest degree detrimental.

After thanking the Governor-General for his approbation of my public conduct, which I value as highly as any that can be bestowed upon it, I shall now support my former opinion, in which I am strongly confirmed, with the same freedom with which I invite discussion.

A declaration of the nature of that in question, is by no means adapted to the habits or modes of thinking of the people to whom it is addressed, and it is from their understandings, and not from our own conceptions, that our conclusions, as to its effects, must be drawn. With men who have seen systems vary with every change of administration, and new plans successively introduced under the same Government, I can never expect that a declaration, conditional on its terms, will have that effect which the Governor-General supposes, in opposition to the whole experience of their lives, and this too, at a moment of innovation, when we are introducing a system of management different from any that has ever yet subsisted in Behar, since it came under the dominion of the English.

The declaration implies an attempt to reconcile the idea of a dubious perpetuity, with an absolute engagement for a limited time, the zemindars and talookdars will look to the latter only, relying upon it,



from year to year until experience shall have shown that reliance to be well founded

I do not admit, that by withholding the declaration the idea of permanency as far as the proprietary rights of the zemindars are concerned is withdrawn or that the acknowledgment of those rights by such a measure ceases to avail to them the contrast between annual imposition and a certainty of ten years suggests a very different conclusion great as the difference is in fact, between a permanency of ten years and a perpetuity yet under the present circumstances of the country the difference between the former and an annual assessment will to the conceptions of the people in general if they reason at all appear equally great and beneficial

I have said that in the estimate of the people a period of ten years will be nearly equal to perpetuity and although the Governor-General differs with me in opinion, I still think the position well founded supposing the possibility of some exceptions yet the confidence of the natives in the stability of this assessment will not be immediate but arise from time and experience and those who do rely upon it must for their own security exert themselves I am not inclined to expect any sudden revolution in the habits and opinions of the natives of this country but rely upon time and the stability of our arrangements to produce this change—that they are more influenced by temporary advantages than by a prospect of certain and remote benefit, and that their conduct is regulated by this principle the concurrent experience of all will allow We wish to infuse more prudent and economical principles and we adopt the conduct calculated to produce this effect but time and self interest will be required to confirm them When the zemindar of Nuddea undertook to be answerable for the revenues of that district, in April 1786 it was under conditions that left him without a possible chance of any advantage, under renunciation of a certain subsistence and subject to a responsibility which was discharged by a sale of part of his zemindary

Whether the proportion of jungle is more or less than a third of the Company's territorial possessions in Hindostan I know not but, with respect to the past I am from my own observation, as far as it has extended authorized to affirm that since the year 1770, cultivation is progressively increased under all the disadvantages of variable assessments and personal charges and with respect to the future, I have

no hesitation in declaring, that those zemindars who, under confirmed engagements, would bring their waste lands into cultivation, will not be deterred by a ten years' assessment, from attempting it. If at this moment, the Government chose to confer grants of waste land in talook-dary tenure, under conditions that no revenue should be paid for them during five years, and that at the end of ten, the assessment should be fixed according to the general rates of land in the districts, where the tenures are situated, they would find no difficulty in procuring persons to engage, even upon less favourable terms. If, mistake not, the grants in Ramghur were precisely upon these principles which are conformable to the usage of the country. Because the utmost scope of encouragement is not held out by a ten years' settlement, it will not follow that none is afforded, or that the country, at the end of ten years, will become desolate. I desire to be understood in this place, that I do not mean to tax industry, in proportion to its improvement.

The Governor-General seems to consider the declaration under discussion as equivalent in effect, to an assessment in perpetuity, and his arguments are deduced from this principle, and from the necessity of establishing it. He considers a ten years' settlement as a bar to all solid improvement. My opinion and arguments oppose this interpretation of the declaration, and go to show, that improvement, if at all likely to happen, may be expected under a ten years' settlement. I do not consider the perpetuity of the assessment as properly forming any part of the present discussion, although it is required that our arrangements be made with a view to this principle. Such I understand to be the orders of the Court of Directors, whose reasoning upon this subject is not very different from my own, for they are of opinion, that the idea of a definite term would be more pleasing to the natives than a dubious perpetuity, and upon this ground, and because they do at the same time, upon a full consideration of the subject, see other reasons for preferring a given term of years at present, they therefore direct that we form the assessment for a period of ten years certain.

But I have, on a former occasion, expressed my doubts whether the Company or Government in England should bind themselves to fix the assessment of this country, in perpetuity. These doubts were suggested by mature consideration of the various existing abuses, which I have so fully detailed, and very serious reflection upon the consequences of them, and the difficulty of establishing regulations, which

shall in their progressive operation correct them. They have no reference to the circumstances of the country at this time independent of the question upon general principles, and I shall deem it my duty before I leave this country to point out more particularly the foundation of those doubts and to declare whether I retain or renounce them. I shall only observe in this place, that although the land is a security to Government for its revenues and although exactions and oppressions may lead to the transfer of it, from bad managers to economical substitutes yet improvement may be long and effectually obstructed by the abuses practised without leading to these consequences. If this were not the case the amount of sales of land would be much greater than they are at present.

The Governor-General asks what are those measures of which I require experience before I can pronounce absolutely of their success? To reply to this question as fully as might be necessary would require a detail beyond what my present time allows. I shall only therefore answer that before I commit myself to recommend the confirmation of a settlement in perpetuity I require the experience that it has been formed with a due attention to the prescribed instruction considering that two of the five Collectors in Behar taking the result of their objections, have declared the proposed settlement impracticable and a third officer the Acting Collector of Banglepore has asserted that a ten years settlement will confirm all existing abuses and that as these are the agents by whom the settlement is to be formed the expectation cannot be deemed unreasonable.

But if this were the place for discussing the perpetuity of the assessment, I should suggest another question. Whether we ought not to have some experience that the regulations which we mean to establish are found in practice sufficient to correct the various abuses existing in the detail of the collections? If these regulations are generally necessary as I suppose them to be it is very evident that they must be enforced before we can expect improvement from the labours of the ryots for whose ease and security they are principally calculated. I am willing to admit, that far greater abuses prevail in the detail of the collections in Bengal than in Behar and that in the latter province, the rules for detecting and correcting them, are more easily ascertained as far therefore as the argument drawn from abuses applies, it is stronger in one case than in another. In fixing the assessment upon the zemindars for

a term of years, we remove one temptation to oppression, but the prosperity of the country must no less depend upon the energy with which our regulations are enforced, and in forming a judgment from past experience, we may be allowed to entertain very justifiable apprehension that, from a want of knowing sufficiently existing abuses, we may be under the necessity of correcting them in future by new rules, which may either affect the revenues of Government, or the stipulations of the zemindars. It is upon such considerations that my doubts arise. They have no reference to future inquiries into the value of zemindary estates, which, as far as the amount of the assessment is concerned, I deem in general, sufficiently ascertained.

The confirmation of a perpetual assessment, is a very serious consideration. I am not sure that in authorizing the settlement made by Mr Law, we have not given sanction to an act of injustice, in perpetuating the exclusion of the proprietors of the soils, for their refusal to agree to the terms of the proposed settlement, but upon this, as well as the whole of this plan, I mean carefully to revise the opinions which I have recorded, and state what further occurs to me upon the subject.

Under the various circumstances which I have detailed, I cannot but adhere to my opinion regarding the declaration, and if it should with any produce effect that, the non-confirmation of it, will be attended with this consequence, that it will shake the confidence of the natives, at the very time when it begins to operate. I cannot agree with the Governor-General, that these provinces, if let upon a lease of ten years only, will be found in a depopulated state, or, that more difficulties will then be experienced, than even this Government have had to encounter, nor, that this inference can be established upon any other principle, than by proving that a permanency of ten years, to those who have subsisted upon annual expedience is destructive.

With respect to the early periods of the decennial assessment, as far as the four or five first years, I think every advantage will be gained, which would be derived from a declared mokurrery, and at that period, if a perpetuity is to be established, it may be declared. I do not believe the zemindars would offer more at this time, under one declaration than another, and if so, no advantage would arise to the Government in this respect. I do not see the utility of the conditional declaration in any sense, and if it be resolved upon, I think it should

succeed not precede the formation of the settlement, and under certain limitations that the zemindars fulfil their engagements and comply with the regulations prescribed. If it be capable of producing any advantage, it will equally follow from this mode as from a previous declaration and if the Court of Directors should finally determine to confirm the settlement in perpetuity the fourth or fifth year will be fully time enough and they will then have before them those documents and illustrations which they require with the advantage of knowing the progress of the assessments for two or three years.

If the declaration be made at all either now or subsequent to the formation of the settlement, the Court of Directors if they should not approve it, are bound to declare their disapprobation of it.

## APPENDIX C.

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*The Select Committee appointed to enquire into the present state of the affairs of the East India Company, and to report the same, as it shall appear to them, with their observations thereupon, to the House,—Have, pursuant to the Order of the House, examined the matter to them referred, and have agreed upon the following Report*

Your Committee, having in their former Reports adverted to the extensive establishments for the internal administration of India, as bearing with considerable weight upon the revenue, and having in a great degree, contributed to affect the expectations of an abundant surplus, have felt it a part of their duty to offer some account of the nature and history of those establishments, and of the circumstances under which they have been augmented to their present scale, trusting that such an account will be acceptable to the House, not only as showing the importance and utility of the establishments themselves, to the welfare and order of the country, but as evincing the unremitting anxiety that has influenced the efforts of those to whom the Government of our Indian possessions has been consigned to establish a system of administration best calculated to promote the confidence and conciliate the feelings of the native inhabitants, not less by a respect for their own institutions, than by the endeavour gradually to engraft upon them such improvements, as might shield under the safeguard of equal law, every class of the people from the oppressions of power, and communicate to them that sense of protection and assurance of justice, which is the efficient spring of all public prosperity and happiness

These establishments divide themselves into Political, Military, Revenue, and Judicial The Political Establishments appear to be sufficiently described by the regulations in the Act of 1793, to supersede the necessity of entering into any detailed discussion, on the subject of them while the nature of those in the Military Department, as well as the causes of their increase, have been explained in the

Second Report of this Committee It is therefore the intention of your Committee at present, exclusively to confine themselves to the establishments connected with the Revenue and Judicial Departments of the service

Your Committee will in the first place submit to the attention of the House those under the **BENGAL PRESIDENCY** and for the sake of greater distinctness propose to divide their Report on this branch of the general subject, into the three following heads

I—A Summary of the different systems introduced for the management of the revenues and the administration of justice in the East India Company's territorial possessions noting the successive modifications they have undergone since the acquisition of the Dewanny in 1765 to the year 1786 when the affairs of British India having been under the view of Parliament the Directors in conformity to the requisitions of the Act 1784 transmitted order to the Supreme Government in India for enquiry to be made into the condition of the land holders and other inhabitants residing under their authority and for the establishment of permanent rules for the settlement and collection of the revenue and the administration of justice, founded on the ancient laws and local usages of the country

II.—The measures pursued in consequence of the foregoing orders, which led to a settlement of the land revenue in perpetuity and to a code of regulations for the guidance of the Courts of Justice formed and established during the Government of the late Marquis Cornwallis

III—An Inquiry into the practical effects of the revenue and judicial systems established by the Marquis Cornwallis in order to ascertain whether they have in any respects proved inadequate or defective whether means have been used to remedy those defects and supply those deficiencies and whether any and if any what further measures may appear necessary for the accomplishment of the professed objects both of the Company and the Legislature in respect to the subjects of our Indian Empire

# I

## A SUMMARY OF THE DIFFERENT SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT ANTECEDENT TO 1784

The Dewanny authority over the provinces of Bengal Bahar and

Orissa, was conferred in perpetuity on the East India Company, by a firmaun or royal grant in August 1765. The Nawab of Bengal, NUJUM-OOI-DOWLAH, had already, as the condition of his succeeding to the musnud, on the decease of his father JAFFIER KHAN, agreed to entrust the administration of the subahdarry to the management of a naib or deputy appointed by the advice of the Governor in Council. By a further agreement, dated 30th September 1765, the Nawab recognized the grant of the Dewanny to the Company, and consented to accept a fixed stipend for the maintenance of himself and his household. Whatever further expense, within certain limits, might be found necessary for the support of the dignity of the nizamat, was to be disbursed through the deputy chosen by the English Government.

In the following year, the President of the Council of Fort William (Lord Clive) took his place as Dewan, or Collector of the revenue, for the Mogul, and in concert with the Nawab, who sat as nazim, opened the *pooneah*, or ceremonial of commencing the annual Collections in Durbar, held at Mootyghel, near Moorshedabad. From this time, the functions of nazim, as well as of Dewan, were ostensibly exercised by the British Government, the latter, in virtue of the grant from the Emperor, and the former, through the influence possessed over the naib or deputy, the Nawab nazim himself having submitted to become virtually a pensioner of the State.

But though the Civil and Military power of the country, and the resources for maintaining it, were assumed on the part of the East India Company, it was not thought prudent, either by the local Government, or the directors, to vest the immediate management of the revenue, or the administration of justice, in the European servants. It may indeed appear doubtful whether the European servants at this time, generally possessed sufficient knowledge of the civil institutions and the interior state of the country, to qualify them for the trust. A resident at the Nawab's Court, who inspected the management of the naib dewan, and the Chief of Patna, who superintended the collections of the province of Behar, under the immediate management of Shetab Roy, maintained an imperfect control over the civil administration of the districts included in the Dewanny grant, while the zemindary lands of Calcutta, and the 24-Pergunnahs, and the Ceded districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, which at an earlier period, had been obtained by special



grant from the Nawab of Bengal were superintended by the covenanted servants of the Company '.

In 1769 Supervisors were appointed with powers of superintending the native officers employed in collecting the revenue of administering justice in different parts of the country and Councils with superior authority were in the following year established at Moorsbedabad and Patna. The Supervisors were furnished with detailed instructions for obtaining a summary history of the provinces the state, produce and capacity of the lands the amount of the revenues the cesses or arbitrary taxes and of all demands whatsoever which are made on the cultivators the manner of collecting them and the gradual rise of every new impost the regulations of commerce and the administration of justice '.

The information communicated to the directors in consequence of these enquiries represent the Internal Government in a state of disorder and the people suffering great oppression. These evils were imputed to the nature of the former administration. It is observed that the Nizams exacted what they could from the zemindars and great farmers of the revenue whom they left at liberty to plunder all below reserving to themselves the prerogative of plundering them in their turn, when they were supposed to have enriched themselves with the spoils of the country ! The whole system thus resolved itself on the part of the public officers into habitual extortion and injustice which produced on that of the cultivator the natural consequences concealment and evasion by which Government was defrauded of a considerable part of its just demands.

With respect to the administration of justice the regular course was everywhere suspended but every man exercised it, who had the power of compelling others to submit to his decisions.

Seven years had elapsed from the acquisition of the Dewanny without the Government deeming itself competent to remedy these defects when in 1772 authority was conveyed to the President and Council of Fort William which enabled them to introduce a system of reform. This was the notification of a resolution which the Court of Directors had come to to stand forth as Dewan, and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues "

In pursuance of the orders received on this occasion, the office of naib dewan was abolished, and the efficient administration of the internal Government committed to British agency. A Committee, consisting of the Governor (Mr Hastings) and four members of the Council, proposed a plan for the management of the revenue and the administration of justice in the provinces, and for the regulation and conduct of the public affairs at the presidency.

By the adoption of the plan proposed by the Committee, the institutions of the internal Government stood as follows

1st In the Revenue Department at the presidency, a Board of Revenue, consisting of the president and members of Council—an Accountant General with Assistants. The Khalsa or exchequer and the Treasury were removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta, to the former of which, native officers were appointed, in number and quality, suitable to the voluminous and important business appertaining to it, which consisted of accounts and correspondence, both in abstract and detail, of every transaction of importance relating to the settlement and collection of the revenue in each district, agreeably to the principles established and forms observed, by the Mohamedan Government. In respect to the provinces, it was resolved, that “the Company having determined to stand forth as “Dewan,” the Supervisors should now be designated Collectors, with whom a native officer, chosen by the Board, and styled Dewan, should be joined, in the superintendence of the revenue. With respect to the revenue, a settlement for a term of five years was adopted, and the four junior members of the Committee above mentioned, proceeded on a Circuit through the provinces, with powers to carry into execution the purpose of this decision.

2nd Under the regulations framed for the Judicial Department, were instituted two Courts for each provincial division or Collectorship, “one by the name of Dewanny or Civil Court, for the cognizance of civil causes, the other named Foujedary or Criminal Court, for the trial of crimes and misdemeanors.” Over the Civil Court the Collector presided, on the part of the Company, in their quality of king’s Dewan, attended by the provincial native Dewan and the other officers of the Collector’s Court. To this jurisdiction were referred, all disputes concerning property, real or personal, all causes of inheritance, marriage, and caste, all claims

of debt, disputed accounts, contracts partnerships and demands of rent but to facilitate the course of justice in trivial cases all disputes of property not exceeding ten rupees were cognizable by the head farmer of the purgunnah to which the parties belonged whose decision was to be final. In the Criminal Court, the cauzy and moofy of the district and two moolavies sat to expound the Mahomedan law and to determine how far delinquents were guilty of its violation. But it was the Collector's duty to attend to the proceedings of this Court, so far as to see that all necessary evidences were summoned and examined and that the decision passed was fair and impartial. Appeals from these decisions were allowed to two superior Courts established at the chief seat of Government one under the denomination of Dewanny Sudder Adawlut or Chief Court of Civil Judicature the other the Nizamut Sudder Adawlut or Chief Court of Criminal Justice. The former consisted of the president and members of Council assisted by the native officers of the khalsa or exchequer and in the latter a chief officer of justice presided, appointed on the part of the nazim assisted by the head cauzy and moofy and three eminent moolavies. These officers were to revise the proceedings of the superior Courts and in capital cases to prepare the sentence for the warrant of the nazim. Over this Court a control was vested in the president and Council similar to what was exercised by the Collectors in the provinces in order that the Company's administration, in the character of king's Dewan, might be satisfied that justice so essential to the welfare and safety of the country was not perverted by partiality or tainted by corruption.

The superintendence and control over the administration of Criminal Justice was by the Government particularly entrusted to the president, Mr HASTINGS who at the end of eighteen months finding the duty too heavy and the responsibility too dangerous desired to relinquish his trust and the Court of Nizamut Adawlut was in consequence, removed back to Moorshedabad and placed under the superintendence of Mahomed Reza Khan, who at the recommendation of the Governor and Council was appointed nath nazim. In the course of his exercising the above functions it appears that Mr HASTINGS recommended and with the concurrence of his Council introduced a new plan of Police. The Collectors and Aumils (or native Superintendents) had acted as Magistrates but on the recall

of the former, native officers, styled foudedars, were appointed to the fourteen districts or local jurisdictions into which Bengal was divided with an appropriate number of armed men, for the protection of the inhabitants, the detection and apprehension of public robbers, and for the transmission of intelligence to the presidency, of matters relating to the peace of the country

The Regulations framed for the guidance of the officers employed in the Revenue and Judicial Departments, which at this time, were printed and promulgated in the languages of the country, manifest a diligence of research, and desire to improve the condition of the inhabitants, by abolishing many grievous imposts, and prohibiting many injurious practices, which had prevailed under the Native Government,—and thus, the first important step appears to have been now made, towards those principles of equitable Government, which it is presumable the directors always had it in view to establish, and which, in subsequent institutions, have been more successfully accomplished

But the effect of the new arrangements on the Department of the Revenue, proved less favourable than was expected. The settlement of five years had been concluded under general instructions from the directors, which required that the Government, “should not, by any sudden change, alter the constitution or deprive the zemindars, &c, of their ancient privileges and immunities’ After due consideration of the different modes which, consistently with these orders, might be adopted, the Government gave the preference to the farming system, under which they received offers for each pergunnah, whether made by the land-holders, or by speculators and adventurers, and those of the highest bidders were accepted, and engagements entered into with them. At the period this settlement was resorted to, the country was slowly recovering from the effects of a dreadful famine, which desolated the country, and destroyed one-third of its population. Whether, owing to the bidders at the settlement having been inattentive to this circumstance, or imprudently led on by the eagerness of competitions to make higher offers than the country could bear, many of them soon failed in the performance of their engagements, and defalcations in realizing the revenue under the five years’ settlement, occurred to a considerable amount. The little success that attended this settlement, combined with other motives,

induced a change of system in 1774 and the European Collectors were recalled from the provinces, and native amils substituted in their stead

The superintendence of the collections was now vested in provincial Councils established for the six principal districts into which the country was divided and stationed at Calcutta, Burdwan Dacca Moorshedabad Dinagepore and Patna

The administration of Civil Justice which had been entrusted to the Collector was on the same principle transferred to the amil from whom an appeal in all cases lay to the provincial Council of the division in which he was posted and from the provincial Council an appeal lay under certain restrictions to the Sudder Dewanny Court, or the Governor in Council The Police which had been entrusted to the Collectors was vested in native officers styled *foujedars* appointed by the naib nazim whose functions and office in the Department of criminal Justice, were now revived at Moorshedabad

The foregoing arrangement for the administration of justice continued in force without any material alteration until the year 1780 But in the Department of the Revenue when the settlement, which had been made in 1772 for five years approached its termination preparations became necessary for the formation of a new one On this occasion the Governor General observed In whatever manner it may be hereafter determined to form the new settlement of the province after the expiration of the present leases it will be equally necessary to be previously furnished with the accurate state of the real nature of the land as the grounds on which it is to be formed To obtain these will be the work of much official knowledge much management and unremitting labour in compiling and collecting the accounts of the past collections in digesting the materials which may be furnished by the provincial Councils and Dewans in issuing orders for special accounts and other materials of information and in deputing native officers on occasional investigations The Government accordingly instituted a temporary office for these special purposes It consisted of three of the most experienced civil servants armed with authority to select and depute native agents (*aumeens*) into each district, for the purpose of entering on a minute local scrutiny of the accounts kept in each village, and of whatever else might best

enable them, to procure the most exact information of the real produce or value of the lands ;

In 1777, the aumeens were required to repair, with the information they had obtained, to each of the provincial Councils in succession, to whom orders and instructions were issued for forming a new settlement. The lands, on the former settlement, appear to have<sup>2</sup> been let to the highest bidder, on his producing security for the amount of the rent. A preference was now to be given to the zemindar, if he consented to engage for the amount of the former settlement, or for such an amount, as the provincial Council might deem reasonable, and instead of producing security, it was provided by a stipulation to be inserted in his written engagement, that his lands, in case of failure in payment, should be held liable to sale, to realize the outstanding balance.

On the same principles, and by the same agency, the settlement of the districts was made annually during the following three years 1778, 1779, and 1780, but the average produce of this period under European Superintendents appears to have fallen short of what it had been, when entrusted to native agency. On this account, combined probably with other causes, a change in the management was determined upon by the Supreme Government, and a new plan accordingly introduced on the 20th of February 1781. The Government stated, that the system lately followed had been only meant as an experiment, to lead by a gradual change, to one of more permanency.

By the new plan, the provincial Councils were abolished, and all the collections of the provinces proposed to be brought down gradually to the presidency, to be there administered by five of the most able and experienced of the Civil servants, under the designation of a Committee of revenue, "to be under the immediate inspection of, and with the opportunity of instant reference for instruction to, the Governor-General in Council." Though the provincial Councils were withdrawn, the president of each was to remain officiating as Collector under the Committee of revenue, until further orders, as likewise were the Collectors who had been separately stationed in some of the frontier and least civilized districts. The native record office, with some modification, was placed under the Committee. A Commission on the revenue realized,

was allowed and distributed among the members of the Committee and the European officers attached to it who were bound by oath to restrict themselves to the avowed official allowances

Immediately after their entrance into office, the Committee submitted to the Government a plan for the formation of a new settlement of the revenue. The principle on which this proceeded does not appear essentially to differ from the rules for the settlement before laid down. The preference was to be given to the zemindars in all cases where they should agree to the amount of the assessment demanded and where there appeared no valid objection from minority or notorious incapacity or any other cause. The amount of the assessment it was presumed might be fixed on reasonable grounds from the experience of former years joined with the information gained by the recent deputation of ameenas. The settlement was to be for one year only with an assurance that in instances where the revenue was regularly discharged the same person should have the option of continuance on the same assessment.

To these propositions the Government assented but with the exception of entrusting the formation of the settlement to the Collectors and the native agents of Government, in all cases where the Committee could not execute that service themselves deeming it an official inconsistency that he who was to collect under the settlement, should have any part, in the formation of it. The Committee was therefore required to make the settlement by deputation on the spot, subject to the final decision of the Government, in all cases where they could not themselves conclude it and they were directed at the same time to encourage the practice of paying the rents into the khalsa at the presidency instead of the provincial treasuries.

In the month of November following the Committee of Revenue reported to the Government, the settlement they had made for the current year's revenue throughout the districts of Bengal those of Bahar had been already settled by the Board of Revenue previously to the entrance of the new formed Committee in the exercise of their functions. The general rules for their guidance had been observed and an increase of more than 26 lakhs of rupees effected on the former jumma. It was stated that the occupancy of the lands, and the management of the collections had in general been preserved to the zemindars and talookdars and where

the reverse had taken place, the cause would be found recorded on the official proceedings

A short time previous to these new arrangements being made in the Department of the Revenue, an alteration took place in the constitution of the Dewanny Adawlut, by the establishment in each of the six grand provincial divisions of a Court of Justice, distinct from, and independent of, the revenue Council. Over this Court, presided a covenanted servant styled *Superintendent of Dewanny Adawlut* whose jurisdiction extended over all claims of inheritance to zemindaries, talookdaries, or other real property or mercantile disputes, all matters of personal property with the exception of what was reserved to the jurisdiction of the provincial Councils, which were to decide as heretofore, on all causes having relation to the public revenue as well as on all demands of individuals for arrears of rent, and on all complaints from tenants and cultivators, of undue exaction of revenue by the officers of Government or others

These institutions were introduced in April 1780, and in the October following, the attendance in the Sudder-Dewanny Adawlut, having been found incompatible with the other duties of the Governor and Council, it was determined that a separate Judge (Sir Elija Impey), should be appointed to the charge and superintendence of that Court, and on the 3rd November, thirteen articles of regulations, prepared by the Judge and approved by Government were passed, for the guidance of the civil Courts, which were afterwards incorporated with additions and amendments, in a revised code, comprising ninety-five articles of regulations, the declared objects of which were "the explaining such rules, orders and regulations, as may be ambiguous, and revoking such as may be repugnant or obsolete, to the end that one consistent code be framed therefrom, and one general table of fees established in and throughout the said Courts of Mofussil-Dewanny Adawlut, by which a general conformity may be maintained in the proceedings, practice and decisions of the several Courts, and that the inhabitants of these countries may not only know to what Courts, and on what occasions, they may apply for justice, but seeing the rules, ordinances and regulations, to which the Judges are by oath bound invariably to adhere, they may have confidence in the said Courts,



and may be apprized on what occasions it may be advisable to appeal from the Courts of Mofussil Dewanny Adawlut to the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, and knowing the utmost of the costs which may be incurred in their suits may not, from apprehension of being involved in exorbitant and unforeseen expenses or of being subjected to frauds or extortion of the officers of the Courts, be deterred from prosecuting their just claims

Under these regulations which were printed with translations in the Persian and Bengal languages, for general information and which constitute the principal foundation of the rules now in force relative to the administration of civil justice, all civil causes, as before described were made cognizable, as heretofore by distinct Courts of Dewanny Adawlut which on the 6th April preceding had been augmented to the number of eighteen consequence of inconvenience experienced from the too extensive jurisdiction of the six before instituted. The Judges, thus constituted and appointed were wholly unconnected with the Revenue Department, except in the four frontier Districts of Chitura Baugleporc Islamabad and Rungporc where for local reasons the offices of Judge and Collector were vested in the same person, but with a provision that the judicial authority should be considered distinct from and independent of the Board of Revenue.

On the 6th April 1781 the establishment of Foujdars and Tannadars, introduced in 1774 which had not been found to produce the good effects proposed by its institution, was abolished and the Judges of the Court of Dewanny Adawlut, were invested with the power as Magistrates of apprehending dacoits (a species of depredators who infest the country in gangs) and persons charged with the commission of any crime or acts of violence within their respective jurisdictions. They were not however to try or punish such persons but "were to send them immediately to the Daroga of the nearest Foujdary with a charge in writing setting forth the grounds on which they had been apprehended. Provision was at the same time, made for cases where by especial permission of the Governor-General and Council certain zemindars might be invested with such part of the Police jurisdiction as they formerly exercised under the ancient Mogul Government. In such cases the European Collector in his capacity of Magistrate

the Daroga of the Nizamut Adawlut, and the Zamindar, were to exercise a concurrent authority for the apprehension of robbers and all disturbers of the public peace

The better to enable the Government to observe the effects of the regulations thus introduced, and to watch over the general administration of criminal justice throughout the provinces, a separate department was established at the presidency under the immediate control of the Governor-General, to which were to be transmitted monthly reports of proceedings, and lists of prisoners apprehended and convicted by the respective authorities throughout the provinces. To arrange these records, and to maintain a check on all persons entrusted with the administration of criminal justice, an officer was appointed to act under the Governor-General, with the title of *Remembrancer of the criminal courts*

In November 1782, in pursuance of instructions from the Court of Directors, the superintendence of the Sudder-Dewan Adawlut was resumed by the Governor-General and Council, and it was declared, that, agreeably to the 21st Geo III this Court was constituted a Court of record, and its judgments to be final, except in appeal to the king in civil suits only, the value of which should be £5,000 and upwards

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Your Committee have brought the foregoing summary of the different systems of internal arrangement adopted for the East India Company's territorial possessions in Bengal, down to that period, when the state of their affairs was before Parliament, and when by an Act of the Legislature, the Company were commanded to institute an enquiry into the complaints which had prevailed, "that divers Rajahs Zamindars, and "other land-holders within the British territories in India, had been unjustly deprived of, or compelled to relinquish or abandon their respective lands, or that the rents, tributes, or services required of them had become oppressive" These grievances, if founded on truth, were to be effectually redressed and permanent rules established on principles of moderation and

justice by which their rents and tributes should be demanded and collected in future

Your Committee deem it inexpedient to load the Appendix with the voluminous documents to which they have had occasion to refer. Most of them will be found annexed to the reports of former Committees of this House and the substance of most of the remainder make a part of the institutions and rules still in force which are to be mentioned in the sequel

An attentive consideration of the information which these documents afford has led your Committee to believe that the administration of the British Government proved at an early period of its introduction beneficial to the natives of India residing under its protection. By the superiority of the British arms they became at once secured from the calamities frequently experienced in successive invasions of the Mahrattas. Internal commotion was by the same cause entirely prevented and if their condition was not sooner brought to that state of improvement, which the character of the nation under whose dominion they had fallen, afforded reason to expect, the delay may be satisfactorily accounted for on grounds that will free those who were immediately responsible from any charge of negligence or misconduct. On this subject, your Committee deem the observations of Mr Shore (now Lord Teignmouth) so applicable and of so high authority as to be worthy of quotation from a Minute on the proceedings of the Government of Bengal recorded on the 10th February 1790 — A period of twenty-eight years has now elapsed since the Company first acquired a right to the revenues of any considerable part of the provinces and of twenty four years only since the transfer of the whole in perpetuity was regularly made by the grant of the Dewanny. When we consider the nature and magnitude of this acquisition, the characters of the people placed under our dominion, their difference of language and dissimilarity of manners that we entered upon the administration of the Government, ignorant of its former constitution and with little practical experience in Asiatic finance. It will not be deemed surprising that we should have fallen into errors or if any should at this time require correction

The Mogul dominion in the best times and under the wisest princes, was a Government of discretion. The safety of the people,

“ the security of their property, and the prosperity of the country  
 “ depended upon the personal character of the monarch. By this  
 “ standard, his delegates regulated their own demeanor, in proportion  
 “ as he was wise, just, vigilant, and humane, the provincial viceroy  
 “ discharged their respective trusts with zeal and fidelity, and as they  
 “ possessed or wanted the recited qualifications, the inferior agents con-  
 “ ducted themselves with more or less diligence and honesty. A weak  
 “ monarch and corrupt minister encouraged and produced every kind  
 “ of disorder, for there was no law paramount to the sovereign’s will.  
 “ Few of the officers of Government were liberally paid, and property  
 “ was left to accumulate, from breach of trust, abused patronage, per-  
 “ verted justice, or unrestrained oppression. This description I con-  
 “ ceive to be *applicable to all* Mahomedan Governments, where practice  
 “ is for ever in opposition to theory of morals, and a few remarkable  
 “ instances of distinguished virtue or forbearance form exceptions,  
 “ which deduct little from the universality of the remark.

“ Long before our acquisition of the Dewanny, the vigour of the  
 “ empire had been irrevocably weakened, and its institutions, as far as  
 “ they can be traced in the ordinances and practice of its best princes,  
 “ had been violated. The agents of the Company, when they obtained  
 “ the grant, had no other guide for their instruction than the measures  
 “ of a provincial administration, which had assumed an independency  
 “ of the empire, and had long ceased to act according to its laws,

“ If we further consider the form of the British Government in  
 “ India, we shall find it ill calculated for the speedy introduction of  
 “ improvement. The members composing it, are in a constant state of  
 “ fluctuation, and the period of their residence often expires, before  
 “ experience can be acquired or reduced to practice. Official forms  
 “ necessarily occupy a large portion of time, and the constant pressure  
 “ of business leaves little leisure for study and reflection, without  
 “ which, no knowledge of the principles and detail of the revenues of  
 “ this country can be obtained. True information is also procured  
 “ with difficulty, because it is too often derived from mere practice,  
 “ instead of being deduced from fixed principles. Every man who  
 “ has long been employed in the management of the revenues of  
 “ Bengal, will, if candid, allow, that his opinion on many important  
 “ points has been often varied, and that the information of one year,  
 “ has been rendered dubious by the experience, of another, still in

“all cases, decision is necessary and hence precedents formed on partial circumstances and perhaps on erroneous principles become established rules of conduct for a prudent man when doubtful  
 “will be happy to avail himself of the authority of example The  
 “multiplication of records which ought to be a great advantage is in fact, an inconvenience of extensive magnitude for in them only the  
 “experience of others can be traced and reference requires much time and labour

Your Committee have no reason to suppose that the intricacy of the subject which the Company's agents had to make themselves acquainted with, is overrated in the foregoing passage or that in framing new rules of Government, and introducing reforms of the rules already in force the risk of committing error was less than the author of that passage has stated but from what is to be observed in the correspondence from home and on the records abroad, your Committee entertain a confident belief that from time to time important measures were recommended and successfully introduced for the improvement of the internal Government, and the amelioration of the condition of the inhabitants at large The information drawn from the Reports of the Supervisors appointed in 1769 and of the Court of Circuit in 1772 developed the errors of a false and injurious policy which had prevailed under the native Government as well as practices of pernicious tendency which had crept into the administration of it, subsequently to the subversion of the Mogul dominion The principal of these as they affected the Department of the Revenue appear to have been noticed and abolished in the regulations passed upon the formation of the five years settlement By the rules then established all *nuzzers* or *salamies* (free gifts) which had been usually presented on the first interview as marks of subjection and respect were required to be totally discontinued not only to the superior servants of the Company and the Collectors but to the zemindars and other officers new taxes, under any pretence whatever were prohibited the Revenue Officers were forbidden to hold farms under pain of dismissal zemindary barriers, erected for the collection of road duties, were abolished and such only continued as belonged to the collection of the established revenue This regulation as far as related to the unavowed emoluments of the Company's servants, and others does not appear to have been effectual.

With respect to the civil judicature at this time, it may be observed, that although the institutions and rules for this department were framed by persons who had not the advantage of professional experience, the improvement introduced into the system which had prevailed under the native Government cannot but be evident, on reference to a description of the latter, which is given in the Report of a former Committee of this House, in the following words that “so far as the Committee were able to judge from all the information laid before them, the subjects of Mogul empire in that province derived little protection or security from any of these Courts of Adawlut, and in general, though forms of judicature were established and preserved, the despotic principles of the Government rendered them the instruments of power rather than of justice, not only unavailing to protect the people, but often the means of the most grievous oppressions under the cloak of the judicial character ” The Committee further stated it to be the general sense of all the accounts they had received respecting these Courts, “that the administration of justice during the vigour of the ancient constitution was liable to great abuse and oppression, that the Judges generally lay under the influence of interest, and often under that of corruption, and that the interposition of Government, from motives of favour and displeasure, was another frequent cause of the perversion of justice ”

The custom of levying as Commission, the fourth part of the value decreed, as well as all other similar fees, on the decision of suits, and all arbitrary fines, were for ever abolished, the legal distinctions in favour of Mahomedans and prejudicial to the Hindoos, were no longer to be attended to, and it was provided, that in all suits regarding marriage, caste, and all other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the koran with respect to Mahomedans, and those of the shaster with respect to Hindoos, should be invariably adhered to On all such occasions, the Moolavy or Brahmin, respectively attended to expound the law, to sign the report, and to assist in passing the decree The rules subsequently introduced in 1781 had the advantage of being framed by professional talents, and, as before observed, are the foundation of those still in use

In the administration of criminal justice, and in the department of the Police, much depravity was at an early period eradicated, and many salutary reforms introduced. The President and Council

of Fort William saw the necessity of their interference to control the sentences of the Mahomedan Judges and where the sentences of the law founded on the koran appeared repugnant to the principles of good Government and natural justice to apply such a remedy as the case might require

But though much good had been effected much yet remained to be done before the institutions of the Government and the condition of the people could be raised near enough to that standard which might satisfy the enlarged views of such as had formed their opinions on the principles and practice of European states and accordingly in the Session of 1784, the Parliament passed the Act of the 24th of his present Majesty for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company by the 39th section of which the East India Company was commanded to inquire into the alleged grievances of the land holders and if founded in truth to afford them redress and to establish permanent rules for the settlement and collection of the revenue and for the administration of justice "founded on the ancient laws and local usages of the country

## II

### ON THE REFORMS INTRODUCED BY EARL CORNWALLIS

Your Committee will next proceed to state the measures which in pursuance of the requisitions of Parliament, were adopted, to inquire into the condition of the land holders with a view of redressing their alleged grievances and to establish permanent rules for the internal Government of the provinces.

The person selected to superintend and direct these important measures, was the late MARQUIS CORNWALLIS who proceeded to India in 1786 His Lordship was furnished with instructions from the Court of Directors, in a letter addressed to the Governor General and Council dated 12th April 1786 As a reference to this letter may account for many considerable alterations which have since been made in the system of the internal management of the Company's territorial possessions and in particular for the introduction of a permanent settlement of the land revenue afterwards rendered perpetual the Committee think it may be proper to notice such parts of it, as relate especially to that measure and to the code of regulations subsequently established The disapprobation of the Court had been excited by the frequent changes which had marked the financial

system of their Government in Bengal, and they expressed their preference of a steady adherence to almost any one system, attended with watchful superintendence. They censured the ineffectual attempts that had been made to increase the assessment of revenue, whereby the zemindars (or hereditary superintendents of the land) had been taxed, to make room for the introduction of farmers, sezwabs and aumeens, who having no permanent interest in the lands, had drained the country of its resources. They disapproved the recently established, which prohibited the Collector from having any concern in the formation of the settlement of his district, and noticed the heavy arrears outstanding on the settlement of the last four years, which had been formed under the immediate direction of the Committee of revenue and expressed their opinion, that the most likely means of avoiding such defalcations in future, would be, by introducing a permanent settlement of a revenue, estimated in its amount on reasonable principles for the due payment of which, the hereditary tenure of the possessor would be the best, and in general, the only necessary security. They therefore directed, that the settlement should be made in all practicable instances, with the zemindar, and that in cases of his established incapacity for the trust, a preference should be given to a relation or agent, over a farmer. They apprehended the design of the legislature was to declare general principles of conduct, and not to introduce any novel system, or to destroy those rules and maxims of policy which prevailed in well regulated periods of the native Government. With respect to the amount of the assessment, the directors were of opinion, that the information already obtained might be sufficient to enable their Government in Bengal to fix it, without having recourse to minute local scrutines and they suggested the average of former years collections, to be the guide on the present occasion, and on this point, concluded their instructions with remarking, that "a moderate jumma, or assesment regularly and punctually collected, unites the consideration of our interest with the happiness of the natives and security of the landholders, more rationally, than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated jumma, to be enforced with severity and vexation." Though the amount when determined, and on reference approved by themselves, the directors intended should be considered as the permanent and unalterable revenue of their territorial possessions in



Bengal yet for special reasons they desired that the present settlement might be concluded for the term of ten years only. In making choice of the persons with whom to conclude the settlement, they desired the clause of the Act 1784 in favour of the land holders might be attended to and that in the point in question as well as in every other particular the humane intention of the legislature towards the native land holders might be strictly fulfilled. With a view to the greater precision in effecting these objects, they recommended that it might, as far as possible be ascertained what were the rights and privileges of the zemindars and other land holders under the institutions of the Mogul or the Hindoo Government, and the services they were bound to perform.

On proposing a plan for the Civil administration of justice among the natives, the directors stated that they had been actuated by the necessity of accommodating their views and interests to the subsisting manners and usages of the people rather than by any abstract theories drawn from other countries or applicable to a different state of things and on these principles they ordered that the superintendence of the Courts of Dewanny Adawlut should be vested in the Collectors of the revenue who were also to have the power of apprehending offenders against the public peace but their trial and punishment was still to be left with the established officers under the Mahomedan judicature who were not to be interfered with, beyond what the influence of the British Government might effect through occasional recommendations of forbearance as to inflict any punishment of a cruel nature.

On the arrival in India of Lord Cornwallis with the foregoing orders it was not found that the Government possessed information sufficient to enable his lordship to proceed at once to so important a step as the conclusion of a settlement of land revenue for a period of ten years, with a view to perpetuity constituting as it did the principal financial resource of Government. Much was yet to be ascertained with respect to the ancient laws and local usages of the country the nature of the land tenure was yet imperfectly understood and the relative situation and condition of the natives concerned in the production of the revenue, had not been fully explained. These several points it was necessary should be enquired into before decisive measures could be taken for fulfilling the inten-

tion of the legislature, and the orders of the directors, by establishing permanent regulations of internal policy His lordship therefore determined to continue for a time, the practice of annual settlements for the different districts, through the agency of the Collectors, superintended by the revenue Committee, while interrogatories were issued to the most experienced of the civil servants, and other practicable means resorted to, by which requisite information might be obtained. The revenue and judicial institutions were, however, immediately revised and regulated, in conformity to the directions from home. The Committee of revenue, had already changed its designation to that of, the Board of Revenue. Its authority and functions were continued, subject to some little variation in the rules prescribed for its guidance. The European civil servants also superintending the several districts into which the country was divided, were, each of them, vested with the powers of Collector, Judge and Magistrate, in which several capacities, their authority was to be exercised and their proceedings kept distinct, except that all judicial proceedings relative to the collection of the revenue, were to be considered appertaining, as heretofore, to the office of Collector. In proposing this union of different authorities in the same person the Court of Directors were influenced by the consideration of its having "a tendency to simplicity, energy, justice and economy" and the India Government, in promulgating their orders on the subject, did not omit to remind the officers selected for this purpose, of the great importance of the trust, and of the good they might have it in their power to dispense, in proportion as they acquitted themselves with diligence and integrity, not confining themselves to a literal and languid discharge of official duties, by directing their attention, with zeal and activity towards the accomplishment of whatever, in the course of their management, might be found calculated to promote the interests of the Government, the prosperity of the country, or the happiness of individuals placed under their authority.

For the administration of justice in the cities of Moorshe-dabad, Dacca, and Patna, distinct Courts were established, superintended by a Judge and Magistrate, office of Collector not being, in these situations, necessary. From the decisions of the provincial Courts of justice, appeals were allowed, within certain limits, to the Governor-General and Council, in their capacity of Judges of the Sudder-

Dewanny Adawlut and from the decisions of the Collectors appeals were allowed first to the Board of Revenue and thence to the Governor-General in Council

The administration of criminal justice remained vested in the nab nizam or deputy of the Nabob to whose Courts superintended by the Mahomedan law officers criminals apprehended by the Magistrate were referred for trial except on petty charges which were to be decided on by the Collector in his capacity of Magistrate and the punishment within certain limits, inflicted under his inspection. Towards the end of the year 1790 a very important change took place in this arrangement, founded (as it appears by the observation with which it was introduced) on the inefficacy of the different plans pursued from 1772 to the present time arising principally from the great delay experienced in bringing offenders to justice as well as to defects in the constitution of the criminal Courts. It was therefore declared that with a view to insure a prompt and impartial administration of the criminal law and in order that all ranks of people might enjoy security of person and property the Governor-General in Council had resolved to accept the superintendence of the administration of criminal justice throughout the provinces. In conformity to this resolution, the Nizamut Adawlut, or chief criminal Court of Justice was again removed from Moorshedabad to Calcutta to consist of the Governor General and members of the Supreme Council assisted by the *caus*, *ul causaut* or head *caus*, of the provinces and two mooftees. Four Courts of Circuit superintended respectively by two covenanted servants of the Company denominated Judges of the Court of Circuit with each a *caus* and mooftee to assist the Judges and expound the Mahomedan law were at the same time established for the trial of offences not punishable by the Magistrates. The Judges were required to hold a general jail delivery every six months at the stations of the several Magistrates within their divisions and to report their proceedings for the confirmation in capital cases, of the Nizamut Adawlut in Calcutta. While one Judge was employed on the Circuit the other was required to perform the jail delivery at the city or head station of his division. The regulations in each department of the civil and criminal judicature and for the management of the land revenue were revised considerably enlarged and printed in the English and

native languages, for general information, with modes of appeal prescribed for the provincial authority through each subordinate Court, until, if necessary, redress might be sought before the Governor-General in Council in whose supreme control the different authorities centered, and whose decision was final, in all cases relating to the administration of justice and internal policy among the natives, except in civil suits, wherein the amount adjudged should exceed sicca rupees 50 000 or £ sterling 5 800, which were appealable to the decision of the King in Council.

• Regulations for the saving revenue, for the opium contract, and the salt monopoly were at this time introduced, calculated to promote the interests of the Government, as well as to ameliorate the condition of the different classes of natives to whom they were applicable. But as these will be more particularly mentioned hereafter your Committee will now proceed to give an account of the steps taken in the progress and conclusion of the permanent settlement of the land revenue.

The objects to which the Government directed its enquiries, as preparatory and necessary to this measure, were, the past history of the districts and of the land-holders belonging to them, the rights of the different orders of the latter, as they were recognized under the native Government, the existing rules by which the revenue was collected, and the ancient usages, as far as they could be traced, the amount of the revenue which it would be proper, under the instructions from home, to demand from each land-holder, and the regulations which it might be necessary to establish, with a view of guarding the under-tenantry and cultivators from oppression, and of securing to them the enjoyment of their property. The information obtained on these topics is too voluminous and diffuse to be presented to the House. But your Committee is of opinion, that a Minute of Mr Shore (now Lord Teignmouth) delivered on this occasion, should not be withheld, as it appears to them to contain information derived from experience and diligent research, in regard to the character and condition of the natives of India, the past and present state of the country, and the laws and practices of the Mogul Government, which may at all times be referred to with advantage, as an authentic and valuable record.

On a consideration of the information obtained, it appears, that

although great disorder prevailed in the internal administration of the provinces on the Company's accession to the Dewanny a regular system of Government had subsisted, under the most intelligent and powerful of the Mogul Governments in which the rights and privileges of the different orders of the people were acknowledged and secured by institutions derived from the Hindoos which while faithfully and vigorously administered seemed calculated to promote the prosperity of the natives and to secure a due realization of the revenues of the State

As it was the opinion of some intelligent servants of the Company that it would in the approaching settlement, be more advisable to resort to the institutions and rules of the old Government, with which the natives were acquainted than to proceed upon principles and rules in the administration of justice and revenue derived from a state of society to which they were entire strangers your Committee will proceed to explain the scheme of internal policy in the management of the land revenue to which it was contended by the persons above alluded to the preference should be given.

In the extensive plains of India, a large proportion, estimated in the Company's provinces at one third by Lord Cornwallis at one half by others, and by some at two-thirds, of land capable of cultivation, lies waste and probably was never otherwise. It became therefore of importance to the native Governments whose principal financial resource was the land revenue to provide that as the population and cultivation should increase the State might derive its proportion of advantage resulting from this progressive augmentation. Whatever might be the motive of its introduction the rule for fixing the Government share of crop had this tendency. This rule is traceable as a general principle through every part of the empire which has yet come under the British dominion and undoubtedly had its origin, in times anterior to the entry of the Mahomedans into India. By this rule the produce of the land whether taken in kind or estimated in money was understood to be shared in distinct proportions between the cultivator and the Government. The shares varied when the land was recently cleared and required extraordinary labour but when it was fully settled and productive the cultivator had about two-fifths and the Government the remainder. The Government share was again divided with the zemindar and the village officers in such

proportion, that the zemindar retained no more than about one-tenth of this share, or little more than three-fiftieth parts of the whole, but in instances, of meritorious conduct, the deficiency was made up to him by special grants of land, denominated *nauncaur* (or subsistence) The small portions which remained, were divided between the *mokuddim* or head cultivator of the village, who was either supposed instrumental in originally settling the village, or derived his right by inheritance or by purchase from that transaction, and had still the charge of promoting and directing its cultivation, the *pausban* or *gorayat*, whose duty it was to guard the crop, and the *putwarry* or village accountant, perhaps the only inhabitant who could write, and on whom the cultivators relied for an adjustment of their demands and payments to be made on account of their rents Besides these persons, who from the zemindars downwards, can be regarded in no other light than as servants of the Government, provision was made, either by an allotted share of the produce, or by a special grant of land, for the *canongoe*, or confidential agent of the Government, whose name implies, that he was the depository and promulgator of the established regulations, and whose office was intended as a check on the conduct, in financial transactions, of all the rest Under the superintendence of this officer, or of one of his *gomastahs* or appointed agents, were placed a certain number of adjacent villages, the accounts of which as kept by the putwarries, were constantly open to his inspection, and the transactions in which with regard to the occupancy of the land, and the distinction of boundaries, came regularly under his cognizance, in a form that enabled him at any time, when called upon, to report to the Government the quantity of land in cultivation, the nature of the produce, the amount of rent paid and generally, the disposal of the produce, agreeably to the shares allotted by the rules as above explained To his office moreover, reference might be had to determine contested boundaries, the use of rivers or reservoirs for irrigation, and generally in all disputes concerning permanent property or local usage within the limits of his official range Your Committee have been more particular in describing the office of the canongoe, because they find, that although prescribed and abolished (perhaps precipitately) as pernicious in Bengal and Bahar, after the conclusion of the permanent settlement of the land-revenue, the same office in the ceded and conquered districts, and in the province of Benares, [has more recently

been pronounced of great utility and calculated to render much public benefit and the several officers found there continued in the exercise of their functions. A certain number of villages with a society thus organized formed a *pargunnah* a certain number of these comprehending a tract of country equal perhaps to a moderate sized English county was denominated a *chuckla* of these a certain number and extent formed a *Circle* and a few of these formed the last or grand division styled a *soubah* of which by the Dewanny grant, the British Government had obtained two the *soubah* of Bengal and that of Bahar with part of Orissa

From this concise representation of what appears to have been the provincial organization of the Revenue Department your Committee think it may appear that when the Mogul Government was in its vigour if it be supposed that the different offices from the highest downwards, were at any time judiciously filled and faithfully discharged the rents of the lands might have been collected from the cultivator without oppression and different shares of the produce distributed by the rules described under a just observance of the rights of the parties concerned but as this, was scarcely to be expected throughout so extensive an empire more especially when in its decline when exaction on the one part, and concealment and evasion on the other were likely to be practised the *Khar* collection or collection immediately by Government, was only occasionally and in particular instances resorted to In practice it was more usual to have recourse to the *zemindary* settlement, or to a species of farming system by the appointment of an *Aumil* or Superintendent, who in designation was no more than an agent, but in practice, was often required to engage for the production of a certain amount of revenue

To make the settlement which might be for a term of years but which was commonly annual, the Subadar or Dewan of the empire either proceeded into the provinces, or summoned the land holders to his presence If they agreed to the amount proposed the settlement was made with them If not, it was open to a farmer or *aumil* who could tender security if required, for the discharge of his engagements which included not only the amount of revenue to be paid to the Government, but also the due distribution of the allotted shares to the *zemindar* and the inferior village officers as before enumerated The

profit to the farmer was supposed to be derived principally from the means which he might possess of extending the cultivation, and the zemindar, besides his established share of the produce, had, when the settlement was made with him, the same advantage. In both cases, this was probably the smallest part of the advantages they really derived, more especially, if situated beyond the reach of control.

On the same principle that the canongoes and village accountants were stationed in the province, a head canongoe and Superintendent of the treasury was stationed with the Subadar, whence were forwarded, the annual revenue accounts to the seat of empire, and whence might at any time, proceed orders or forms of reports to the provincial canongoes and accountants for the minutest particulars relative to the actual state or produce of any one or all of the different villages, contained within the limits of the province over which the subadar presided.

Sufficient traces remained to shew, what was the original state of these institutions in Bahar, but in Benga the disorders which increase as the Mogul empire declined, had destroyed the efficacy of those checks, which had enabled the governing power to acquire an accurate account of the village collections. The office of the canongoe was become little more than a name, and no better mode appeared for gaining knowledge of the value of the lands, than could be obtained by a comparison of different years' collections, or by reference to village accounts, which were liable to fabrication. The difficulty was increased by a difference which had originally prevailed in the mode of forming the assessment in Bengal, from what has been described as the practice in Bahar. In Bengal, instead of a division of the crop, or of the estimated value of it, in the current coin, the whole amount payable by the individual cultivator, was consolidated into one sum, called the *assul* or original rent, and provision made for the zemindar, the village accountant, the mundul and the other inferior officers, by other means than by a division of the zemindary portion of the produce. This was effected, either by grants of land, or by the privilege of cultivating, on lower terms than the rest of the inhabitants and partly in money, a mode which, as it afforded the officers of Government no interest in the accuracy of the village accounts, render the fabrication or concealment of them, the more feasible. It moreover placed the zemindar in a condition more consistent with European



notions of proprietary right in the soil than could be inferred from his portion of the produce shared with the officers of Government and was perhaps, the foundation of much of that difference of opinion which appeared in the official discussions on that topic under the Supreme Government at this time

Under this view of the Mogul system as it formerly existed and of the state into which it had fallen it was by some suggested as advisable for the Company to leave open the means of participation in the advantages expected to result from increased population and general prosperity which might reasonably be counted on under the British Government, by continuing the practice of periodical settlements of the land revenue under the checks instituted by the Mogul authority. These it was contended when brought back to their original state of utility and improved by such regulations as might be superadded by the British Government, would under a just and vigilant administration, unite the liberal policy of an European State with the strength and energy of an Asiatic monarchy and be altogether better suited to the genius experience and understanding of the natives than institutions founded on principles to them wholly new derived from a state of society with which they were unacquainted and the ultimate views of which they were not able to comprehend. *But the leading members of the Supreme Government appear to have been at an early period of the transactions now commencing impressed with a strong persuasion of the proprietary right in the soil possessed by the zamindars* or if the right could not be made out, consistently with the institutions of the former Government, that reason and humanity irresistibly urged the introduction of it. In the decision of this question was contemplated the introduction of a new order of things which should have for its foundation, the security of individual property and the administration of justice criminal and civil by rules which were to disregard all conditions of persons and in their operation, be free of influence or control from the Government itself. The whole might be reconciled to a strict observance of the orders from home which appeared to disclaim all views of an increasing land revenue requiring only that the amount, at whatever it might now be fixed should not be liable to fluctuation or defalcation as it before had been, and that the rules for the collection of it, should be permanent. If any deviations from the established usages of the natives

should occur, in what was intended to be done, the advantage was still so entirely on their side particularly in regard to the land-holder, that it was presumed they would at once sufficiently perceive the benefit intended, and not object to it because the mode of introducing it was new, nor regret the abolition of practices injurious to them, on account of these having been of long standing. Thus, although the intention of the Government must have been manifest from the outset a discussion of the principal points on which the new system depended was invited and free discussion allowed by the Government to its officers, whose sentiments as derived from local experience, might suggest the best means of carrying into effect the intended measures

Though the servants of the Company had possessed the Dewanny authority over these provinces more than 26 years, and especial enquiries had at different times been prosecuted into the state of the revenues, and the condition of the inhabitants, yet much uncertainty still remained, in regard to the rights and usages of the different orders of people connected with the revenues. But the ability and experience of the author of the Minute, which has been referred to, appears to have supplied what was wanting and to have enabled the Government to proceed without delay, to the formation of a settlement of the land-revenue, for a period of ten years, and to publish general orders and instructions for the direction of the Collectors of the different districts of Bengal, in pursuance of the orders from home, towards the end of the year 1789, and similar orders for the province of Bahar, in the year following, but owing to unexpected obstacles, and new circumstances that arose in the course of these arrangements, it was not before November 1791, that an amended and complete code of regulations for this purpose, was prepared and promulgated by the Government, nor till the year 1793, that the decennial settlement was declared to be concluded in every district

As the conclusion of the decennial settlement has led to one of the most important measures ever adopted by the East India Company both in reference to themselves, by fixing the amount of their land-revenue in perpetuity, and to the land-holders, in establishing and conveying to them rights, hitherto unknown and unenjoyed in that country, your Committee think the House may expect from them, a particular account of the nature of this settlement.

The first point proposed in the interrogatories circulated by Government, was intended to determine the person with whom the settlement should be made and here no difficulty occurred for whatever might be the difference of opinion among those who were officially consulted on the theoretical question of proprietary right in the soil a general concurrence prevailed in favor of the settlement being made with the zemindar in all practical instances where no disqualification from minority sex or notorious profligacy of character presented objections. In such cases provision was made for vesting the estate in trust for the possessor and in instances of the zemindar refusing to accede to the amount of the rent required the estate was to be farmed and a provision similar to the zemindary share, which has been described provided for his maintenance.

The next consideration was the amount of the assessment to be fixed on the lands. This as it was subsequently to become the limit of the resource which the Government could ever in future derive from the land it was necessary should be fixed with the utmost accuracy but it appears that means adequate to so desirable and important a purpose were not to be found. The lights formerly derivable from the canongoes office were no longer to be depended on and a minute scrutiny into the value of the lands by measurement and comparison of the village accounts if sufficient for the purpose, was prohibited by the orders from home. Under these circumstances the attention of the Government was excited by an estimate of the resources of the country extracted from the ancient records, by Mr *James Grant* the officer in charge of the Khalsa or Exchequer office. By this document it was endeavoured to show that the real value of the lands had been concealed and the confidence of Government abused by the native officers, entrusted during the early part of the Dewanny grant, with the management of the land revenue and that the aggregate assessment ought to be above half a million per annum estimated in English money more than had at any time been collected. The performance alluded to is in many respects meritorious and interesting and the Committee have been induced to insert it in the Appendix as explanatory of the ancient rules and tenures under the Mahomedan dominion and of the state of the revenues but in regard to the amount of the assessment suggested for Bengal,

the misconceptions of the author, appear to have been sufficiently explained, in a Minute of Mr Shore, already given in the Appendix, and a medium of the actual produce to Government, in former years, drawn from the scanty information which the Collectors had the means of procuring, was the basis on which the assessment on each estate, whether large or small, was ultimately fixed, with a reference to the principle suggested by the directors, namely, that a moderate jumma "if regularly and punctually collected, unites the consideration of their interest, with the happiness of the natives and security of the land-holders, more rationally than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated jumma, to be enforced with severity and exaction" The Collectors to whom the task of adjusting the assessment on the lands, and of forming engagements with the land-holders was entrusted, under such stipulations as the Government deemed necessary for the protection of the lower order of land-holders and cultivators, reported their progress in detail to the Board of Revenue, upon whose recommendation, when approved by Government, the settlement was finally concluded with the landholders for the term of ten years The whole amount of land-revenue, by these means, and by this agency, obtained from the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, ultimately proved, for the year 1197, corresponding with the year 1790-1 to be sicca rupees 2 68,00,989 or £ sterling 3,108,915, and from the province of Behares sicca rupees 34,53,574 or £ sterling 400,615

In the progress and conclusion of this important transaction, the Government appeared willing to recognize the proprietary right of the zemindars in the land, not so much, from any proof of the existence of such right, discernible in his relative situation under the Mogul Government in its best form, as from the desire of improving their condition under the British Government, as far as it might be done consistently with the permanency of the revenue and with the rights of the cultivators of the soil The instructions from home had warned the Government against the danger of delusive theories, and the recent enquiries had disclosed a series of rights and privileges, and usages, admitted in the practice of the native Government, from the principal zemindar down to the actual labourer in husbandry, which it was necessary should be attended to, before the zemindar, could be left to the uncontrolled management of his estate The

*talookdar* the *chowdry* the *munsif* the *magaddim* had each his distinct right admitted under the native Government. Although they might be subject to exaction and oppression of various kinds, yet their rights under the existing mechanism of a *malguzarry* or assessed village did not appear liable to be called in question and these were sufficiently distinguishable but the case with regard to the lower and more numerous class of the natives (the cultivators or ryots, was more multifarious and intricate particularly in the Bengal province where the village records from the neglect of the canongoes office could no longer be relied on and where the practice of granting *pullahs* or leases had fallen into irregularity and confusion and in some places almost into disuse from the same cause. The necessity which hence arose, of leaving many of these points unsettled when the engagements were concluded with the zemindars, created a doubt of the expediency of rendering those engagements irrevocable before it could be experimentally ascertained whether the different objects which led to their introduction were attainable under them. The fear of confirming under a perpetual settlement, abuses which might not have yet come to light or if discovered were not of a nature to be at once obviated, seems to have suggested a trial of the decennial settlement through the whole or even a part of the term engaged for before any assurance should be afforded the zemindars that their assessments were to be fixed for ever. The objections arising on these grounds against any intimation being given to the land holders of an intention to render their settlements permanent and irrevocable without a previous reference to the Court of Directors are ably urged in the proceedings of the Supreme Government at this period and were replied to by the Governor-General in a Minute dated 3rd February 1790 which proved satisfactory to the directors. At the present time when your Committee are informed that settlements of the same nature are in progress in the recently acquired territorial possessions of the East India Company your Committee are of opinion that the Minutes recorded on the above occasion should be printed for the information of the House.

From the proceedings alluded to it appears, to have been determined by the Governor-General in Council that the notification in question should immediately be made to the zemindars that if

approved by the directors, to whose decision the point was to be referred, the settlements which had just been concluded, should be rendered perpetual, or be fixed for ever

The directors in their reply dated 29th September (1792) to the reference which was made to them on the progress of the settlement, and to the proposal of rendering it perpetual expressed themselves in high terms of approbation of what had been done, and of assent in regard to what was further proposed to be accomplished. They seemed to consider a settlement of the rents in perpetuity, not as a claim to which the landholders had any pretensions, founded on the principles or practice of the native Government, but a grace, which it would be good policy for the British Government to bestow upon them. In regard to proprietary right to the land, the recent enquiries had not established the zemindar on the footing of the owner of a landed estate in Europe, who may lease out portions, and employ and dismiss labourers at pleasure, but on the contrary had exhibited, from him down to the actual cultivator, other inferior landholders, styled talookdars and cultivators of different descriptions, whose claim to protection, the Government readily recognized, but whose rights were not, under the principles of the present system, so easily reconcilable, as to be at once susceptible of reduction to the rules about to be established in perpetuity. These, the directors particularly recommended to the consideration of the Government, who in establishing permanent rules were to leave an opening for the introduction of any such in future, as from time to time might be found necessary, to prevent the ryots being improperly disturbed in their possessions, or subjected to unwarrantable exactions. This, the directors observed, would be clearly consistent with the true practice of the Mogul Government, under which it was a general maxim that the immediate cultivator of the soil, duly paying his rent, should not be dispossessed of the land he occupied "and this" (they further observed) "necessarily supposes that there were some limits, by which the rent could be defined, and that it was not left to the arbitrary determination of the zemindar, for otherwise, such a rule would be nugatory, and in point of fact, the original amount seems to have been anciently ascertained and fixed by an act of the sovereign." Subsequent enquiries, particularly in the Deccan, and more southern part of India, have confirmed these observations.

The division of the crop or produce taken in money or in kind fixes and limits this demand and as long as the ancient rules were scrupulously observed the state and its subjects derived a mutual advantage from the increase of cultivation while the rate of taxation remained fixed and invariable. Notwithstanding the foregoing reservations, the advantage actually to be conferred in rendering the amount of revenue which the landholders had recently entered into voluntary engagements to pay perpetual or fixed for ever and thereby securing them from any further demand of rent or tribute or of any arbitrary exaction whatsoever was so new so unexpected and of such inestimable value to the landholders, as led the directors to believe would induce them assiduously to employ themselves in improving their estates, and on the other hand would place the security of the public revenue on a solid basis founded on the growing prosperity of the country.

On a point so singularly interesting to the East India Company as the amount of the land revenue which was now in Bengal to be fixed for ever the directors after lamenting the want of better data than the experience of a series of past years, joined to the recent enquiries had afforded expressed themselves satisfied in its appearing likely to prove equal to what they had after consideration of the exigencies of Government and of a reserve proper for extraordinary services, already had it in view to obtain and they did not wish to expose their subjects to the hazard of oppressive practices by requiring more yet on consideration of the extent of land which lay waste throughout the provinces and advertng to what had formerly been the practice of the native Government, in participating in the resources derivable from its progressive cultivation they would be induced to acquiesce in any arrangement which might be devised with a view to secure to the East India Company a similar participation in the wealth derivable from such a source provided it could be effected without counteracting the principal object of encouraging industry and be reconciled with the principles of the system which was about to be introduced and they concluded their letter with observing that the demand from the land the great, and now almost the only source of revenue is *fixed* with the exception of any addition which may be made from resumption, or what may arise from uncultivated lands (if that resource should be available) *it is*

*fixed for ever* a most serious argument, for strict economy in the expenditure of what is so limited, for the utmost care on our part, that our known resources being on the one hand restrained from increase, they may on the other, be preserved from diminution " On the authority of the orders conveyed in this letter, Lord Cornwallis proceeded without loss of time to notify by proclamation, bearing date the 22nd March 1793, to the landholders, the permanency of the settlements which had just been formed, as well as of those which were yet in progress, whenever they should be completed The terms of the first three articles of the proclamation are as follow —

Art I " In the original regulations for the decennial settlement of the public revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, passed for these provinces respectively on the 18th of September 1789, the 25th November 1789 and the 10th February 1790, it was notified to the proprietors of land with or on behalf of whom a settlement might be concluded, that the jumma assessed upon the lands, under those regulations would be continued after the expiration of the ten years and remain unalterable for ever, provided such continuance should meet with the approbation of the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company, and not otherwise "

Art II " The Marquis Cornwallis, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Governor-General in Council, now notifies to all zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orissa, that he has been empowered by the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the East India Company, to declare the jumma, which has been or may be assessed upon their lands under the regulations above-mentioned, fixed for ever "

Art III " The Governor-General in Council accordingly declares to zemindars, independent talookdars, and other actual proprietors of land, with or on behalf of whom a settlement has been concluded under the regulations above-mentioned, that at the expiration of the term of the settlement, no alteration will be made in the assessment which they have respectively engaged to pay, but that they and their heirs and lawful successors will be allowed to hold their estates at such assessment for ever '

During the time that the settlement of the land-revenue was in progress, and until an answer to the reference for rendering the



decennial settlement perpetual could be obtained from England the Government was occupied in devising remedies for the imperfections and abuses which prevailed in other departments of the internal administration. The next in importance to the land revenue as presenting an object for reform was the *Sayer* or inland customs duties and taxes or generally whatever was collected on the part of Government and not included in the *machaul* or land revenue. This department, comprehending whatever was calculated to bear an impost in towns or markets in places of fixed or of occasional resort, or on the roads being less susceptible of reduction to fixed rules was more open to imposition and abuse and consequently the scrutiny introduced on the present occasion presented an object of peculiar interest for the Government to reform. The more effectually to accomplish this purpose it was by advertisement on the 11th June 1790 notified that (with an exception of the tax on tenements which appeared derivable from the land thus occupied) the management and collection of the *sayer* revenue would in future be separated from the *zemindary* charge and placed under the authority of officers to be appointed directly on the part of Government. But in proceeding to act upon this resolution, the good conduct of the natives who were now to be placed in this charge under the immediate control of the officers of Government, appeared as little to be depended on as when they acted under the control of the *zemindars*. The advantage therefore to the public interests was doubtful while the additional expense to be incurred in salaries was certain and unavoidable and therefore as the shortest way of getting rid of the embarrassment which the resolution for the resumption of the *sayer* had occasioned the Government determined that it would be advisable to abolish this class of collections altogether and to allow the *zemindars* a compensation for the loss which it should be made to appear they respectively had suffered thereby.

The tax on spirituous liquors was reserved out of the abolition and has since been regulated and rendered more productive than formerly and your Committee observe that the abolition of the tax has not been final or under any such declaration, as should preclude the Government at any future time from the option of restoring the collections in question, in whole or in part, under such regulations and restrictions as they may deem expedient.

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Your Committee will next proceed to notice the reforms introduced into the rules established for securing the Company a revenue derivable from the monopoly of salt, and for improving the condition of the natives employed in the manufacture of that article

The salt with which the inhabitants of the populous provinces of Bengal and Bahar are supplied is obtained from the earth found impregnated with sea salt at the mouths of the Ganges, in the tracts contained between Ballasore and Chittagong. On the acquisition of the Dewanny the inland trade in salt betel-nut and tobacco was vested in an exclusive Company, for the benefit of the European servants who enjoyed the profits of this concern, in lieu of salary. The regulations of the 3rd September 1766, fixed the price at which salt should be sold in lots to the natives at two hundred rupees per hundred maund, and prohibited the sale of it, on these terms, to any but the natives. Other restrictions calculated to secure the natives from the injurious effects of a monopoly, were likewise introduced, which lasted till the January following, when the society above-mentioned of trade, was abolished by orders from the Court of Directors, but, owing to the time necessary to terminate the contracts which had been entered into for the supply of salt, this society was not finally put an end to till October 1768. The advantage to the Government, had been a duty of 50 per cent on the value of the salt manufactured, which, together with fifteen per cent on betel, was estimated to produce an annual revenue of twelve or thirteen lacs of rupees. On the abolition of the society of trade, the manufacture appears to have been thrown open to the native merchants, who might employ the manufacturers, and to such of the zemindars as by their situations, possessed the convenience, and by their sunnuds the right, of making salt within their limits but restrictions were still imposed, to prevent the opulent natives from entering into combinations for the purpose of monopolizing the sale of salt in the interior, and from oppressing the manufacturers

In the year 1772 it was determined, 1st "That the salt in every part of the province should be on the same footing—2nd That the salt should be made for the Company—3rd That the colluries or manufactories in each district, should be let in farm for five years" By the conditions of the farm, a certain quantity of salt

was to be delivered at a stipulated price which was then to be dealt out at a fixed price to the native conductors of the Inland trade who had agreed before hand to aid the farmers by advance of money for the payment of the labourers or lower classes of manufacturers

In July 1777, the practice of farming the mahauls or manufactories was continued but the salt produced was left to the farmer's disposal

As the revenue accruing to the Company up to this time from the manufacture of salt, did not appear equal to what might under a more judicious management be derived from it, a new system was introduced in September 1780 for the provision of salt by agency under which all the salt of the province was to be manufactured for the Company and sold for ready money at moderate fixed rates to be ascertained and published at the beginning of every season by the Governor General and Council. The European agents employed in this department, were restricted by oath to their avowed allowances but, exclusive of a salary they were allowed a Commission of ten per cent. on the profit which should accrue to the Company under their management and by public advertisement, the manufacturers of salt were required to place themselves under their direction. This plan was strenuously opposed in Council but the result appears to have justified the expectations formed by the Governor General Mr Hastings who proposed its introduction, for the net average amount of revenue brought to account in the first three years following the new mode of management was sicca rupees 4,000,500 or £ sterling 464 060 and the same for the three years preceding the arrival of Lord Cornwallis sicca rupees 4,503 900 or £ sterling 522 450

The regulations introduced by Lord Cornwallis do not alter the general plan of the monopoly as above introduced but are calculated to remove all compulsion from the manufacturers and to guard them from the impositions of the intermediate native agents standing between the covenanted European servants of the Company and the labourers in the manufactory. Your Committee have the satisfaction of observing that under these rules the revenue derived from salt has largely increased and that the net advantage to the Company from this and improved sales has risen to sicca rupees 11 725 700, or £ sterling 1 360, 180 on an average of the last three years

The monopoly of the opium, produced from the culture of the poppy, is the third principal branch of the East India Company's territorial revenue in India. In considering this as a financial resource, it appears that the practice of the Mogul Government has been adopted, under which the opium was farmed out, on an exclusive privilege for a peiscush or annual payment in advance.

In 1773 the contract, or exclusive privilege for providing opium, was granted to Meer Munheer, "in preference (as it was stated by Government) to any one else, because being the person who had been employed by the gentlemen of Patna in that business, he was the best acquainted with the proper mode of managing it, and would account for any outstanding balances. He was to deliver the Bahar opium at 320 rupees, the Oude at 352 rupees per maund. In the notification made by the Government on this occasion, wherein the zemindars and others were required to afford their assistance, it was added, that the purchases of opium would be made, to the satisfaction of the cultivators, and no oppression would be committed.

On a renewal of the contract to these persons in 1775, on the same terms, the contractors engaged "to carry on their own business without oppression to the ryots, and would not force them to prepare the lands for the cultivation of the opium poppy, nor force them to cultivate the opium poppy, but leave them to till the lands as most agreeable to themselves." In the same year, it was notified, that the next contract for the supply of opium would be made on proposals to be tendered to the Government for that purpose, and the proposals received, were renewed and accepted for the following year. The Government having heard of forcible means used with the cultivators, strictly enjoined the provincial Council to attend to the orders, they had before received, to prevent force or compulsion being used to oblige the ryots to cultivate the poppy in preference to any other article.

The terms of this last contract appear to have furnished the rule on which the contract was conferred by special favour without any additional provision for the protection of the cultivators, for the subsequent years, until 1785, when the Government determined that the contract should be exposed to public competition, and for a term of four years, be disposed of to the highest bidder.

On the conclusion of the engagement entered into the Government reserved to itself the appointment of Inspectors to superintend the provision and manufacture of the opium and declared it to be the duty of the Collectors of the several districts to hear all complaints of the ryots against the contractors and their officers and to grant such redress according to the former practice and usage of the respective districts, as may be required and that this provision be publicly notified by advertisement throughout the districts where opium is manufactured with this condition that the contractors may appeal to the Board from the decision of the Collectors provided such appeal be made within one month from the date of such provincial decision which is in the meantime to be in force and obeyed till the judgment on the appeal shall have been passed

Before the expiration of the last mentioned contract Lord Cornwallis had arrived in India and the same scrutiny which was carried on in the other departments appears to have been extended to the means which had been used for the supply of opium. Though the mode of supply by contract was not discontinued but on the contrary renewed by advertisement for another term of four years many new conditions were required from the contractors the particulars of which your Committee do not deem it necessary to enter into farther than to explain in what respects they were calculated for the relief and protection of the cultivators and manufacturers. The Government as long as it had assumed the monopoly of opium must have had an interest in keeping down the price paid to the cultivators at the same time that policy suggested the necessity that the price they received should be reduced to so low a rate as to discourage the cultivation, and thereby diminish the quantity produced. These considerations produced the establishment of a medium rate at which by weight, the cultivator had from a remote period been accustomed to deliver his crude opium to the person whether agent or contractor who on the part of Government, was appointed to receive it. Upon this rate which appears in the village account as the *assul* or original established rate certain *abroads* or cesses had subsequently become imposed in the same manner as practised in the land rents. The principal part of these impositions were abolished under the present contract and the rate stated at

which the contractor was required to purchase the crude opium from the cultivator

Your Committee cannot but notice the singular principle on which these contracts must have proceeded, wherein the Government, on contracting for the price at which they were to receive the opium, at the same time prescribed the price at which it should be purchased by the contractor, more especially when it appears, that as the latter, was to exceed the former it might be supposed that the contractor agreed to supply opium to the East India Company at a lower rate than he could purchase it himself. Though the result will sufficiently demonstrate the erroneous tendency of these contracts, yet the mistakes committed in them, were not discovered soon, and the present contract for four years had its course, and another contract for the same period was entered into, and had continued to the end of its term, before the ill consequences discovered themselves, in the depression in the trade, which, under judicious management, was calculated to be, and which has since shewn itself to be, a very considerable financial resource

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The settlement of the land-revenue having been effected, in the manner which has been described, and rendered perpetual by the Court of Directors, with the concurrence of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, Lord Cornwallis proceeded without delay to perfect the system of internal administration, which he had undertaken to introduce. For this purpose, the regulations framed at different periods of his administration, were revised and printed, for the guidance of the officers of Government, and translated into the native languages for the information of the inhabitants at large. This example has been subsequently followed by the presidencies of Fort St George and Bombay, and the code of regulations thus framed, may be considered as the statute book of the British Government, the nature and importance of which, will appear from the preamble of Regulation XLI of 1793, where it is stated to be, essential to the future prosperity of the British in Bengal, that all regulations which may be passed by Government, affecting in any respects the rights, persons or property of their subjects, should be formed into a regular code, and printed with translations in the country languages, that the grounds on which each regulation may

be enacted should be prefixed to it and that the Court of Justice should be bound to regulate their decisions by the rules and ordinances which those regulations may contain. A code of regulations framed upon the above principles would enable individuals to render themselves acquainted with the laws upon which the security of the many inestimable privileges and immunities granted to them by the British Government depends and the mode of obtaining speedy redress against every infringement of them the Courts of Justice will be able to apply the regulations, according to their true intent and import future administrations will have the means of judging how far the regulations have been productive of the desired effect and when necessary to modify or alter them as from experience may be found advisable new regulations will not be made nor those which may exist be repealed without due deliberation and the causes of future decline or prosperity of these provinces will always be traceable in the code to their source

Your Committee will now proceed to give an account of the system of internal Government as modified by Lord Cornwallis and established by the code of regulations above mentioned beginning with the department of the revenue which stands first in the code

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## THE REVENUE DEPARTMENT

It has been already stated that the superintendence of the settlement and collection of the revenue and the control over the conduct of the Collectors was agreeably to orders of the Court, of September 1785 vested in a Board of Revenue consisting of a president (who is always one of the members, selected from the civil service of the Supreme Council) and four members each of whom are under the restraint of an oath prescribed by the Act. Besides its ordinary functions the Board was originally constituted a Court of review and of Appeal from the decisions of the Collectors acting in their capacity of Judges of Adawlut in all causes relating to the public revenue which appertained to the mahal adawlut, in contradistinction to all other suits which came under the jurisdiction of the Dewanny Adawlut. Lord Cornwallis, deeming it incompatible with the principles of the system he was

about to introduce, that the officers of the revenue should decide on suits the cause of which originating in their own department, might render them not wholly disinterested in the decision, annulled the judicial powers of the officers in the Revenue Department, and transferred the cognizance of all matters wherein the Government might be concerned to the same Court of Dewanny Adawlut, which was to dispense justice among the inhabitants in general. The Board of Revenue being thus relieved from the exercise of judicial functions would, it was understood, have more time to bestow on the various duties assigned to its members which duties are recited in regulation the II<sup>nd</sup> of 1793, enacted for their guidance. The Board of Revenue is held at the seat of Government, it has a Secretary, with assistant translators, and other subordinate officers, European and native. In this Board, is vested the general control over the Collectors of the land revenue, with authority to superintend their proceedings, and to suspend them from their offices, if negligent in the performance of their duty. Their own proceedings are, in like manner, subject to the superintendence of the Government, and the orders of the Government in this department, are circulated, through the Board of Revenue to the Collectors. The Board of Revenue is constituted a Court of Wards, with powers to control the conduct and inspect the accounts of those who manage the estates of persons disqualified by minority, sex or natural infirmity, for the administration of their own affairs. The Board make periodical reports to Government on the state of the revenues, and their proceedings in detail, are transmitted through the Government to the Court of Directors.

The only instances in which the *Collectors* are allowed to retain any of their judicial functions, are such as relate to the continuance of the provincial pensions, and the separation of the talooks or small estates from their dependence on the zemindaries to which they are attached. It has been the practice of the native Government, to grant pensions to various descriptions of Mahomedans and Hindoos. The greatest part of these, were small stipends granted in reward of merit or through motives of devotion and charity to Brahmins, to Faqueers and to Mahomedan families, in a state of decline. Some were for a fixed term, and others in perpetuity, but all were chargeable, either on the revenue or on the sayer collections, and many had probably been held, without an adequate authority. Without entering into a



scrupulous examination of the rights by which these pensions were enjoyed the British Government had been accustomed to authorize the payment of them and on the conclusion of the decennial settlement and the abolition of the sayer revenue provision was made for the continuance of all such as should on investigation be found duly authorized under rules which were enacted for the purpose This investigation being on a subject declared to be gratuitous is entrusted to the Collector subject to the revision of the Board of Revenue and to the ultimate determination of the Governor-General in Council The Collector also decides in the first instance on talookdarry claims for separation it being a point in which his office is supposed to contain the best information but the Appeal in this case lies to the Courts of Justice the subject being a private right over which the Government profess to exercise no control

The Collectors being divested of their Magisterial authority it became necessary to provide, by other means, for the collection of arrears of land revenue. This has been done by a regulation conveying ample powers for the enforcement of all such demands, by attachment and sale of the defaulter's property and by imprisonment of his person where the property should prove inadequate to answer the demand. The Government, solicitous to prevent the recurrence of corporal punishment, which had under former systems been practised in the regulation enacted on this occasion avoids all personal restraint beyond what may be necessary to establish the justice of the demand but is precise in its form of process prescribed for the Collector to follow and peremptory in regard to a sale of the land in the last resort The same regulation affords to the zemindar the means of obtaining redress, by a suit for damages against a Collector for acts of unauthorized severity or for the enforcement of an unjust demand or for any unauthorized proceeding in his official capacity whereby the party may sustain damage It discriminates also the cases, in which the suit is to be considered as virtually prosecuted against the Government, and against the Collector individually The functions of the Collector are to assess the tax imposed on spirituous and fermented liquors and intoxicating drugs to superintend the division (by sale or by decrees of the Judicial Courts) of landed property paying revenue to Government, to apportion the public revenue on land ordered to be sold for the

discharge of arrears of revenue , to procure land for the native invalid soldiers , and he is required to dispose of the amount of his collections as may be directed by the Accountant General , to keep and transmit his periodical accounts, in the forms prescribed to the Board of Revenue and generally to perform whatever duties may be required of him by a public regulation or by special orders from the Board of Revenue These officers act, under the restraint of the oath prescribed by Act of Parliament In their establishments are included one or more European Assistants, taken from the junior part of the covenanted servants , a Dewan appointed by the Board of Revenue, and other native officers, agreeably to the list of establishments contained in No 60 of the Appendix to the second Report of this Committee , a copy of which list is by Act of Parliament required to be laid annually before this House

The division of the provinces into Collectorships, remained nearly as before , no further alteration being made, than such as was more convenient in defining them by rivers, or other natural boundaries, where any such occurred

Officially subordinate to the Collectors, are the *Tahsildars*, or native Collectors, posted in a few instances, where the extent of the district, or the great number of petty land-holders renders assistance necessary to the European Collector In Bengal and Bahar, their functions are limited to the receipt of the revenue, in the division of the district where they are posted , in Benares, and in the Ceded and conquered provinces, the situation and employment of the *Tahsildars* will be explained, in the account to be given of the settlement of those provinces

It must have appeared, from what has been stated, that the inhabitants of the Company's territorial possessions, whose condition was considered to be the most improved, by the introduction of the new system, were the class of land-holders or *zemindars* Under the native Government, the *zemindars* were liable to an annual requisition for such an amount of revenue or tribute, as a minute local scrutiny of the village accounts, aided by a measurement of the land, if necessary, might warrant, leaving them simply their *russoom* or established proportion of the produce, and then *nauncan* or special grant of land, where such existed, joined with the advantage derivable from an extension of cultivation, or what might be obtained by re-letting the land in

parcels to under renters as a compensation for the trouble and risk of the charge, and subject to Imprisonment corporal punishment and dispossession, in case of failure in the performance of their engagements. If they declined entering into engagements on the plea of excessive demand they were restricted to their allowance of rissoom or nauncaur while the land was liable to be farmed or committed to the immediate management of an officer of Government. By the terms of the perpetual settlement, no farther demand is to be made upon the land holder whatever may be the augmentation of his resources, by increased culivation, or any other means than the amount of the jumma or revenue which he has already voluntarily engaged to pay. On the other hand he is declared not entitled to remissions, on the plea of loss from unfavourable seasons, inundation or any other natural calamity and in the event of his falling in arrear of the regular payment of the revenue his land is liable to be sold in liquidation of the balance outstanding.

Thus far the present tenure and condition of zemindar may appear similar to that of a freeholder in this country but in India as already has been mentioned subordinate rights were found to exist which justice and humanity required should be protected before the privileges of the zemindars, under the new system were declared fixed for ever. These were the rights of the talookdars or inferior zemindars and of the ryots or cultivators. The former were of different descriptions some of them, already entitled to separation from the zemindar's authority or to make engagements with and pay their revenue directly to the ruling power others by former custom were dependant on the zemindar as on a liege lord. The hand of power had so often and so variously controlled the right as to render the real extent of it, doubtful and hence it became difficult to frame such rules for the separation of talooks, as might in all instances, be free of objection. The Collectors therefore on concluding the settlement, after separating such of the talookdars whose right to that condition was unquestionable, left all others subject to future investigation under the rules and regulations established for trying and determining the rights in question, which rendered all such claims cognizable in the first instance by the Collector from whose decision appeals were to be had to the Courts of Dewanny Adawlut. The effect of the regulation, authorizing the separation of talooks, must have appeared consonant to the senti-

ments of the directors, who, in their letter of 19th September 1792, suggested the inconvenience, if not danger, which might arise from the great extent of some of the principal zemindaries, and the regulation alluded to, continued in operation till 1801, when from the great number of separations into minute portions of land which had occurred under it, and from the opportunity it afforded for practices injurious to the revenue, it was deemed necessary to establish a limited period, beyond which no further separations should be allowed. Other inconveniences resulting from the encouragement held out to application for separation by the rules alluded to, and the obscurity of the rights to be determined under them, were observable in a few instances, wherein considerable zemindars found their estates in portions wholly taken from them, and themselves reduced to the condition of pensioners of Government. In some other instances, the purchasers of land at the public sales, held for the liquidation of balances of revenue, were left in a similar predicament, and compensation for the loss sustained, claimed by the purchaser, and allowed by the Government. Your Committee are enabled to state, in proof of the uncertainty which must have attended the decision of the right, in question, that though the mokuddims, noticed in a former part of this Report, sued and established their right to separation before the Judge of the provincial Court of Bhauglepore, they lost their cause in an appeal which was made from that decision to the superior Court at Moorshedabad.

A similar inconvenience, resulting from the rule established for selling land in portions to realize arrears of revenue, has induced the regulation, which restricts those divisions to portions which shall not bear an assessment of revenue, under sicca rupees 500 per annum. But the Mahomedan and Hindu laws of inheritance, still in force for the division of hereditary property, may probably carry this inconvenience to an extent which will oblige the Government to apply a remedy, by enacting a restrictive regulation in those cases likewise.

With respect to the cultivators or ryots, their rights and customs varied so much in different parts of the country, and appeared to the Government to involve so much intricacy, that the regulation only provides generally for engagements being entered into, and potiahs

or leases being granted by the zemindars leaving the terms to be such as shall appear to have been customary or as shall be particularly adjusted between the parties and in this it is probable that the intentions and expectations of the Government have been fulfilled as no new regulation yet appears altering or rescinding the one alluded to. It is moreover to be expected that the parties on experiencing the inconvenience expense and delay combined with the uncertainty attendant on decisions in the newly constituted Courts of Justice will come to a reasonable agreement between themselves the zemindars for the sake of retaining the cultivator by whose means alone his estate can be rendered productive and the cultivator for the sake of gaining a subsistence on the spot where he has been accustomed to reside.

The village accountant or putwarry whose duties have been described it was deemed necessary to retain under the new system but he is by the regulations placed in the situation of a servant to the zemindar for the purpose (besides keeping the village accounts) of furnishing information respecting the lands which may at any time be ordered for sale by the Collector or by the Courts of Justice. But for the canongoes whose functions have also been described no employment appearing necessary the office was by the Government declared abolished and the lands which they possessed in right of office and some of them by inheritance through many descents were pronounced resumable on the principle of the possessors being merely the servants of the State and removable at pleasure. The severity of this decision was afterwards so far mitigated as to leave the principal canongoes a maintenance but the office and the rissooms or income derivable from it, have not been restored to them in Bengal and Bahar.

In determining to abolish this ancient institution it may be doubted whether the Government did not proceed hastily on the evidence of abuses in the administration of it and without sufficient regard to its utility under wholesome rules. What tends to confirm this appearance of precipitancy is the necessity that has since arisen for preserving the office in Benares and the Ceded and conquered districts, under a subsequent introduction of the Bengal regulations for the Government of those provinces. By Regulation V. of 1808 it is provided that the office of cannigoe having been found of great

utility under former Governments in the Ceded and conquered provinces, and being calculated to render much public benefit in those provinces, and in the province of Benares, under proper rules and restrictions," is accordingly continued, but on a footing somewhat different, as it is no longer hereditary, nor the salary payable by rissom, but immediately from the Government treasury

To supply the want of the office of canongoe, in recording the changes of landed property, and other local circumstances, a quinquennial register of landed property, with an intermediate register of changes, was established, and ordered to be kept by native officers, under the inspection and superintendence of the Collector of each district, with translations of the same in the English language. Provision appears to have been made for verifying the leaves of the register by the signature of the Judge of the district, and by other precautions for rendering it authentic and complete, as a record to which reference might be had by the officers of Government and by the Courts of Justice, for information respecting the assessment of the revenue in particular divisions of land and for determining boundary disputes, and other circumstances, wherein the demands of the Government and the rights and property of individuals, are concerned. But as it does not appear, that these registers have yet been finished, it may, perhaps, after a lapse of so many years, admit of a doubt whether they ever will be completed. A circumstance that seems to countenance this conjecture, is the necessity recently felt of re-establishing the canongoe's office in the upper provinces, which your Committee have reason to believe the registers in question, were meant to supply.

Your Committee have been induced to mention these and other circumstances of a similar nature from an impression, that in settling the revenue, and introducing regulations of a permanent nature, into the new acquisitions of territory under the different presidencies in which important service the Indian Government is now actually employed, the operation of the new system, introduced into Bengal, should be kept constantly in view, in order that any errors which may have been committed, through inadvertency or precipitancy or want of experience, in those possessions may be avoided on future occasions

The only regulations remaining under this head which your Committee think it necessary to mention are those which provide for the resumption by Government of land held exempt from the payment of revenue either surreptitiously or under invalid titles

The circumstance of land to a considerable extent existing under the general denomination of *ba te zemeen* or land exempt from the payment of revenue appears noticed in the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal in the year 1778 when it was remarked that partial attempts had been made at different "periods" to ascertain the extent and annual amount of these lands. But no general register had yet been formed and the records of former investigations were either lost or dispersed and what existed were too inaccurate to be relied on. Although means had been used in 1772 to prevent the practice of alienating land without authority there was reason to believe the abuse on the part of the zemindars still continued and that the institution of an office to be denominated the *bazee zemeen duffer* was necessary to check it. The Superintendent of the *bazee zemeen duffer* assisted by a competent establishment of native officers was authorized to traverse the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, for the purpose of collecting information and forming a register of the lands in question and as an incitement to diligence in the discharge of his duty he was in addition to his salary allowed a Commission on all the resumptions of land which might by his means be brought on the rental of Government. The province of Bahar was exempt from this enquiry it being presumed that the provincial Council had already made the necessary enquiry on the subject. The records contain no account of any material service having been performed in consequence of this institution. On the contrary it appeared to the Government to be a source of great abuses, by protecting fraudulent alienations of the public revenue and in 1786 the *bazee zemeen duffer* (or registry of lands exempt from the payment of revenue) was abolished and a part of the duties under other regulations, committed to the charge of the Collectors of revenue in their respective districts. No further alteration in it appears to have been introduced till the year 1790, when Lord Cornwallis brought forward the regulations which were afterwards included in the code published in 1793 for trying the validity of the claims of persons holding or claiming a right

to hold lands, exempt from the payment of revenue to Government ' The object of these regulations is to define the circumstances under which the titles to the different descriptions of grants therein cited, shall be deemed valid, such as, proof of possession prior to the Company's accession to the Dewanny, or of competent authority since that event and to empower the Collector of the district to prosecute suits on the part of Government in the Dewanny Adawlut for resumption where the title to possession cannot be maintained But it does not appear that any considerable resumptions have been made ' Indeed the effects of the first miscarriage of a plan intended to discover the vast alienations which had been made of the public possessions are still sensibly felt and the recovery of them is now perhaps from continued enjoyment, become impracticable

To the account which has already been given of the revenues derivable from the monopoly of salt and opium, little is necessary to be added here The regulations passed for securing the monopoly of those articles, for preventing smuggling in the former, and adulteration in the latter, for preventing the officers employed on the part of Government from compelling persons to engage in the manufacture of either, for ensuring a due performance of engagements, when voluntarily contracted by the manufacturers, and for affording them redress, through the means of the Courts of Judicature, when aggrieved by the Agents of Government, were revised, and introduced into the code published in 1793 No material alteration appears to have been made in this regulation relative to the salt, since that time except the establishment of chokeys, under the superintendence of covenanted servants to prevent smuggling, and a reduction in the rate of commission allowed to the salt Agents

In regard to the opium, the revenue arising from it having considerably diminished, and the trade in it declined, owing to the debasement of the article by adulteration, the mode of provision by contract was discontinued, and in 1799 the agency of a covenanted servant of the Company adopted instead This change in the management of the opium monopoly, has answered the expectations formed of it, in every particular, and the net revenue arising from it, which on an average of the last four years of the contract, was Sa Rs 8,19,400, or £ sterling 95,050, has on an average of the four years, of which the



latest accounts have been received proved Sa Rs. 59 80,100 or £ sterling 693 700

The Agents appointed for the provision of salt and opium previously to entering on their office are required to take and subscribe an oath which restricts them from deriving any advantage themselves or knowingly from permitting any other person to do so beyond the avowed allowance from the Government

### THE CIVIL COURTS OF JUSTICE

Your Committee have already described the state of the judicial department in Bengal previous to the introduction of the new system when in each of the districts into which the provinces were divided a European servant presided and exercised the functions of Collector of the revenue Judge of the Adawlut, and Superintendent of the Police under rules which kept his proceedings distinct and separate, in each of those departments

This was the constitution of the internal Government which the Court of Directors had chosen for their territorial possessions in India, when in 1780 Lord Cornwallis was appointed to carry into effect the improvements which they had determined for the administration of those possessions. On that occasion, the directors accompanied their orders with the following observations

We are actuated in all our ideas concerning the preservation and Government of our possessions in India, by the necessity of accommodating our views and interests to the subsisting manners and usages of the people rather than by any abstract theories drawn from other countries, as applicable to a different state of things. We have therefore upon a full view of the subject adopted this conclusion that it will tend more to simplicity energy justice and economy to re invest the provincial Chiefs or Collectors with the superintendence of the Courts of Dewanny Adawlut.

It must be acknowledged that the proposed establishment of an individual authority in each district, was consonant with the practice of the native Governments, in which, from the monarch in gradation to the inferior village officer the authority of the immediate superior was absolute and commonly regarded with implicit obedience till injustice or oppression forced an appeal to an higher power. It is

moreover evident, that the advantages and disadvantages, the good or evil, attending this system, would depend more on the qualities of the individual agents presiding in it, than in any regulations that could be framed for their guidance. In proportion as the European Chief or Collector stationed at a distance from the seat and immediate superintendence of the Government should be active, vigilant and upright, or indolent and corrupt, it might be expected that the conduct of this inferior officers, stationed throughout the district would be found to partake of the same qualities, and that the welfare of the inhabitants would thus in a certain degree depend on the choice to be made of the person who was to be placed, in authority over them. The uncertainties which might attend on such a selection, and other reasons which are stated at large in the Minute of Lord Cornwallis, for rejecting this system and in the room of it, to introduce one which he proposed should be upheld by its own inherent principles, and not by the personal qualities of those who would have to superintend it. A system under which it would no longer be necessary for the people to court the patronage of individuals, or to look beyond the laws for security to their persons and property. In conformity to these principles, the public regulations in various passages, inculcate the free access that may be had to the Courts of Justice for redress, not only from grievances arising from the infringement of rights on the part of individuals, but from the abuse of authority in the officers of Government, and have in Regulation III of 1793, pointed out a mode whereby the Government may be brought to account and may be compelled to answer for any injury done to the meanest of its subjects, by the authorized conduct of its officers, or by an act of its own, passing rules in anywise injurious to the rights of individuals. The preamble to Regulation III of 1793, contains the following passage —“ The Government have resolved that the authority of the laws and regulations lodged in the Courts of Justice, shall extend, not only to all suits between native individuals, but that the officers of Government employed in the collection of the revenue, the provision of the Company's investment, and all other financial or commercial concerns of the public, shall be amenable to the Courts, for acts done in their official capacity, in opposition to the regulations, and that Government itself, in superintending these various branches of the resources of the State, may be precluded from injuring private property, they have determined to submit the claims and interest of the public in such matters to be decided

by the Courts of Justice according to the same manner as the rights of Individuals

The preamble to Regulation II of 1793 which separates the judicial and financial functions assigns the following reasons for that measure — The Collectors of the revenue preside in the Courts of Mahal Adawlut as Judge and an Appeal lies from their decisions to the Board of Revenue and from the decrees of that Board to the Governor-General in Council in the Department of Revenue. The proprietors can never consider the privileges which have been conferred upon them as secure while the revenue officers are vested with those judicial powers. Exclusive of the objections arising to these Courts from their irregular summary and often *ex parte* proceedings and from the Collectors being obliged to suspend the exercise of their judicial functions whenever they interfere with their financial duties it is obvious that if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public revenue are infringed the revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors and that individuals who have been aggrieved by them in one capacity can never hope to obtain redress from them in another. Their financial occupations equally disqualify them from administering the laws between the proprietors of land and their tenants. Other security therefore must be given to landed property and to the rights attached to it, before the desired improvements in agriculture can be expected to be effected. Guided by the foregoing principles and for the reasons above stated Lord Cornwallis proceeded to divest the Revenue Board of its powers as a Court of Appeal and the Collectors of their authority to decide in causes relative to the collection of the public revenue and to refer the decisions of such matters in common with all suits falling under the cognizance of civil judicature to a new Court of Adawlut which was now established in each provincial division under the superintendence of an European covenanted servant, of higher official rank than the Collector. In whose person were united the powers of Judge and Magistrate, and to whom was to be entrusted the superintendence of the Police within the limits of his division.

The Courts of Justice thus constituted a register and one or more assistants were appointed from the junior branch of the European covenanted servants and those of the best qualified among the

natives were selected and appointed to each Court, a Mahomedan and Hindoo law officer, to expound the koran and shaster, in causes which might be referable to the determination of those authorities. To each Court was allowed a competent establishment of ministerial officers, and for the assistance of the parties in suits, vakeels, or native pleaders were nominated to act, when constituted on special authority for that purpose, in conducting the proceedings under the established rules, which as to the forms of proceeding in the Courts, differed little from those introduced in the same departments in the year 1781.

The local jurisdiction of the several Courts extends to all places included within the limits of the zillahs or cities, in which they are respectively established. All natives as well as Europeans and other persons not British subjects, residing out of Calcutta, are amenable to the jurisdiction of the zillah and city Courts. But British subjects, whether in the service of his Majesty, Civil and Military, or otherwise, are placed under the operation of rules suitable for that purpose, and consistent with the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, as applying to that description of the Company's subjects. British subjects are not in ~~a~~ public employment, if allowed to reside 10 miles beyond the limits of the latter jurisdiction, are required to subject themselves under penal obligations to the authority of the zillah Courts, in civil suits, wherein the amount sued for shall not exceed 500 sicca rupees, precautions are likewise observed in the regulations, to prevent that interference among the domestics and dependants of his excellency the Nawab at Moorsshedabad, which in the discretion of the Court which it concerns may be avoided. "taking care at all times and in all matters, to pay every proper attention to the dignity and long established rights of the Nawab.

To prevent the time of the zillah and city Judges from being occupied with the trial of petty suits and thereby to enable them to determine causes of magnitude with greater expedition they are empowered to authorize their registers to try causes for a value not exceeding 200 rupees. But this power being originally allowed the Judge, under restrictions and obligations for his revision, which by defeating the object of saving his time, rendered it nugatory, the objectionable part of the regulation was rescinded, and the register's decree to a certain amount made final unless the Judge himself saw

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•The local jurisdiction of the several Courts extends to all places included within the limits of the zillahs or cities, in which they are respectively established. All natives as well as Europeans and other persons not British subjects, residing out of Calcutta are amenable to the jurisdiction of the zillah and city Courts. But British subjects, whether in the service of his Majesty, Civil and Military, or otherwise, are placed under the operation of rules suitable for that purpose, and consistent with the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in Calcutta, as applying to that description of the Company's subjects. British subjects are not in a public employment, if allowed to reside 10 miles beyond the limits of the latter jurisdiction, are required to subject themselves under penal obligations to the authority of the zillah Courts, in civil suits, wherein the amount sued for shall not exceed 500 sicca rupees, precautions are likewise observed in the regulations, to prevent that interference among the domestics and dependants of his excellency the Nawab at Moorshedabad, which in the discretion of the Court which it concerns may be avoided. "taking care at all times and in all matters, to pay every proper attention to the dignity and long established rights of the Nawab."

To prevent the time of the zillah and city Judges from being occupied with the trial of petty suits and thereby to enable them to determine causes of magnitude with greater expedition, they are empowered to authorize their registers to try causes for a value not exceeding 200 rupees. But this power being originally allowed the Judge, under restrictions and obligations for his revision, which by defeating the object of saving his time, rendered it nugatory, the objectionable part of the regulation was rescinded, and the register's decree to a certain amount made final, unless the Judge himself saw

cause to revise and reverse it To a greater amount than the above the register's decisions were made referable to the Court of Appeal but the Appeal has since been changed to the Judge of the city or zillah Court With the same view of relieving the Judge, he has more recently been allowed the discretion of referring causes of a larger amount occasionally to his register's decision but the decrees of the latter are no longer final in any case an Appeal lying from them to the Judge who is moreover empowered at any time to take a suit out of his register's hands and to try it himself

As a farther relief to the zillah and city Courts from the trial of petty suits for the convenience of parties residing at a distance from the seat of justice and to promote by additional subordinate judicatures the speedy administration of civil justice a regulation has been enacted authorising the appointment of *native Commissioners* to hear and decide in the first instance on suits of personal property not exceeding the value of 50 Rupees These are of three descriptions namely *muftis* or referees *salisars* or arbitrators and *munsifs* or native justices The titles sufficiently designate their functions which have undergone such modifications as appeared expedient since their first institution The *cauzees* of the four cities and other towns are referees and arbitrators by virtue of their office and by a regulation dated in 1803 proprietors and farmers of land *tahsildars* and creditable merchants are eligible under the discretion of the Judge for the same trust but the *munsif* or native justice is required to be selected with peculiar care and reported for appointment to a higher authority These natives act, under the obligation either of an oath or a declaration in writing to the same effect and under restrictions devised to ensure a faithful discharge of the trust reposed in them Their powers do not extend further than suits for personal property of the value of 50 rupees and from their decision an Appeal may be had to the zillah or city Judge who alone has authority to enforce their decrees The native Commissioners receive no salary nor are they allowed any establishment but as a full compensation receive the institution fee of one anna per rupee or something more than 6 per cent. on the amount of all causes investigated by them or settled before them by agreement of the parties.

In all well regulated Governments it has been deemed expedient to provide against the possibility of unjust or erroneous

judgments in the Courts of primary jurisdiction by constituting tribunals of review or Appeal. To render them efficient, it is necessary they should be easy of access, but previously to the year 1793 as already has been noticed, the only Courts of Appeal under the Bengal Presidency, were at Calcutta. In suits concerning rent or revenue which were excluded from the jurisdiction of the Dewanny Adawlut, and cognizable in the first instance by the Collectors, the Appeal lay to the Board of Revenue, and ultimately to the Governor-General in Council. *In causes decided by the Courts of provincial Dewanny Adawlut, Appeals lay to the Governor-General* and the members of the Supreme Council, before whom (to prevent more of their time being occupied in Appeal, than could be spared from the other departments of the Government) the amount appealable was restricted to one thousand sicca rupees. But under this restriction, it was found that the greater number of causes decided by the provincial Courts, were not appealable, moreover, the distance and expense of travelling in many cases operated as an exclusion from the Court of Appeal. To remedy these defects, which were experienced in the former judicial system, the Governor-General in Council by Regulation V of 1793, instituted four provincial Courts of Appeal, one in the vicinity of Calcutta, one at the city of Patna, one at Dacca and the fourth at Moorshedabad, each Court to be superintended by three Judges (covenanted servants) styled 'the first, second, and third Judge of the Court, to which they were appointed' a fifth Court of Appeal constituted in like manner for the province of Benares, was established in 1795, and a sixth Court, for the Ceded and conquered provinces, has been instituted in 1803. A register, with one or more Assistants from among the European civil servants, is attached to each of these Courts, also three native law officers (a *cauzee*, *moofy*, and *pundit*) with a competent number of native ministerial officers. After various modifications of the rules and restrictions, under which recourse might be had from the inferior tribunals to the provincial Courts of Appeal since 1793, in subsequent regulations passed in the years 1794, 1795 and 1803, it appears that an Appeal now lies to the provincial Courts of Appeal in Bengal, Bahar, Orissa and Benares, in all causes whatever that may be tried by the Judges of the city and *zillah* Courts in the first instance, but the decrees of the latter, on Appeals from the



native Commissioners, are final and likewise from their registers except for real property where the decision of the latter is reversed in which case an Appeal lies to the provincial Court of Appeal. But the latter Court is allowed a discretion to admit an Appeal in any case wherein it may see special reasons for so doing. The provincial Courts are empowered to take further evidence as they may think necessary for the just determination of the suit before them or to refer the suit back to the Court in which it originated with special directions to the Judge regarding the additional evidence he is to receive as may be deemed most conducive to justice recording in every case the reasons for exercising the powers thus vested in them. The provincial Court in common with the city and zillah Courts, are prohibited from corresponding by letter with the parties in suits or with each other on matters within their cognizance. All official intercourse is by certificate or precept in writing under the official seal and signature and every process, rule and order limits a certain time for the execution and return being made to the same disobedience or negligence in an inferior Court being reported to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut at Calcutta which has power to suspend the Judge from his office notifying the same for the determination of the Governor-General in Council. If any person shall charge the Judge of a city or zillah Court before the provincial Court of the division with having been guilty of corruption in opposition to his oath the provincial Court is to receive the charge and to forward it to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut provided the complainant shall previously make oath to the truth of the charge and give security in whatever sum the Court may Judge proper to appear and prosecute the charge when required. On such a charge the Sudder Dewanny Court proceeds in a manner which will be hereafter stated. By these rules which restrict the provincial Court from the exercise of any personal authority over the Judges of the city and zillah Courts the respect due to official character is meant to be maintained while a strict observance of the regulations and the subordination requisite for the public service is preserved by the authority delegated to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, under the control of the Governor-General in Council. But the principles on which these rules have been established may be best explained by an extract from the Minute of Lord Cornwallis by whom they were

introduced, dated 11th February 1793 To prevent the characters of the Judges being wantonly aspersed rules should be laid down to deter people from making groundless accusations The provincial Courts should not be permitted to make enquiries in the first instance into the charges that may be preferred against the zillah or city Judges, but should be directed to forward them to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut This Court shall issue a special Commission to the provincial Court to make such enquiries, and to take such evidence respecting the charges, as it may think advisable The observance of this formality will be essential, it will not obstruct the bringing forward of well-founded complaints, at the same time, it will operate to deter people from making groundless charges To delegate to the provincial Courts of Appeal a power to enquire into such charges, without a previous reference to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, would in fact be making the Judges of the city and zillah Courts personally subject to their authority This would even deprive the city and zillah Judges of all weight and consequence in the eyes of the people, and lessen that respect with which it is necessary they should look up to their decisions. The Judges of the provincial Courts should possess no authority over the Judges of the city and zillah Courts personally, their control over them should be only that of a superior Court empowered to revise their decrees, when regularly brought before them in Appeal

From all decrees of the provincial Courts, in cases where the value of the thing decreed exceeded one thousand rupees, an Appeal was originally allowed to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, consisting of the Governor-General and members of the Superior Council, with the cauzy ul cauzaat, or head cauzy, two mooftees, two pundits, a register, Assistants, and other ministerial officers but the Appeals preferred being found to occupy too much of the Court's time, the limitation for Appeal was, in 1797 extended to suits for money or personal property not exceeding, in amount or value, five thousand rupees This limitation proving insufficient for the intended purpose, it was in the following year, extended likewise to real property of the same estimated value

Notwithstanding these alterations in the rules for limiting Appeals, the accumulation of undecided causes so far increased, as to require

more time for their decision than could conveniently be spared from the various duties which the Governor General in Council had to perform. The same observation was applicable to the proceedings in the Nizamut Adawlut or superior Court of criminal jurisdiction which Court also was composed of the members of the Supreme Government assisted by the law officers and ministerial officers beforementioned. Moreover it was deemed essential by Lord Wellesley to the impartial prompt and efficient administration of justice and to the permanent security of the persons and properties of the native inhabitants of these provinces that the Governor General in Council exercising the supreme legislative and executive authority of the State should administer the judicial function of Government by the means of Courts of Justice distinct from the legislative and executive authority. It was accordingly determined that the Government should relinquish the jurisdiction of the Sudder Dewanny and of Nizamut Adawlut and place it in Courts especially instituted over which were to preside three Judges denominated the Chief second and third Judges the Chief Judge to be one of the junior members of the Supreme Council and the other two to be selected from among the coveted civil servants not being members of the Supreme Council. By a subsequent Regulation of the Government, however the Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawluts were made to consist of three Judges, neither of whom was a member of the Supreme Council. But this arrangement was annulled in the year 1807 and a new one adopted by which the number of Judges was augmented to four the Chief Justice being a member of Council as formerly. Since that period a regulation has been passed for augmenting the number of Palse Judges according as from time to time may appear necessary for the despatch of business.

The power of admitting special Appeals in *all* cases which the provincial Courts of Appeal possess is likewise vested in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut and in all these Courts the rules for receiving trying and deciding Appeals and Suits originally instituted are as far as circumstances would admit founded on the same principles. The Judgments of the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut are final in all cases within the limitations prescribed by the statute of 21st Geo 3rd Cap 70 Sec. 21 namely £ 5 000 at the medium rate of

50 000 current rupees , beyond that limitation, an Appeal lies to His Majesty in Council in conformity to the statute above referred to But no *rules* having been prescribed by that statute for the admission of Appeals, the Governor-General in Council has established the following to be in force, until His Majesty's pleasure be known thereupon —“ All persons desirous of appealing from a Judgment of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut to the King in Council, are required to present their petition of Appeal to the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, either themselves, or through one of the authorized pleaders of that Court, duly empowered to present such petition in their behalf, within six calendar months from the date in which the judgment appealed against may have been passed In cases of Appeal to His Majesty in Council, the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut may either order the judgment passed by them to be carried into execution, taking security from the party in whose favour the same may be passed, for the due performance of such order or decree as His Majesty, his heirs or successors may think fit to make on the Appeal , or to suspend the execution of their judgment during the appeal, taking the like security in the latter case from the party left in possession of the property adjudging against him , but in all cases, security is to be given by the appellants to the satisfaction of the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, for the payment of all such costs as the Court may think likely to be incurred by the Appeal, as well as for the performance of such order and judgment as His Majesty, his heirs or successors shall think fit to give thereupon ’

It remains to notice such general provisions relative to the whole of the civil Courts, as have not been mentioned, in describing them separately

For the convenience of suitors in the Courts of civil judicature and to obtain for them the assistance of natives of character and education, better qualified than their private agents formerly employed could be supposed to have been, a regulation was enacted for the selection and appointment of native pleaders, or vakeels, in the zillah and Civil Courts and in the Courts of Appeal, and Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, under the rules and restrictions calculated to secure to their clients a diligent and faithful discharge of their trust • The great number of regulations at this time, and subsequently enacted

and the form and precision required to be observed in the judicial proceedings has rendered it indispensable that the natives who are in general represented by illiterate should have guides to conduct them through the intricacies of the new institutions. Previously to their practising the pleaders are required to take and subscribe an oath binding them to a faithful discharge of the duties they undertake and (in consequence as it is understood of the greater obligation of a retrospective oath upon the conscience of Mahomedans) pleaders of the Mahomedan faith are directed to be sworn half yearly to the truth and fidelity of the duties they have actually discharged. To afford the pleaders and all other persons the means of gaining a knowledge of the regulations introduced by the British Government printed copies and translations are ordered to be kept for public inspection upon a table expressly allotted for that purpose in every Court room where any person may refer to them and take copies. Each Court is moreover furnished with a considerable number of copies of the regulations for distribution among the waukeels of the Court and others as far as they will go. The pleader is engaged by a small retaining fee and ultimately rewarded by a percentage on the amount sued for which is awarded to him to be received from his client or from the opposite party as determined by the decree. Many rules and restrictions for the guidance of the public pleaders and to ensure their fidelity towards their clients are provided which it would be superfluous to insert here but which are detailed in the code of regulations printed by the Government.

The *choutahi* or fourth part of the value of property recovered in a Court of judicature seems to be considered in most parts of the Indian Peninsula, as the compensation or fee due to the ruling power for the administration of justice. The early abolition of this exaction on the accession of the British power to the Government of Bengal and in lieu of it the introduction of a small percentage on the institution of the suit, has been noticed. This institution fee under subsequent modification continued to be received until the establishment of the Courts of Dewanny Adawlat and Courts of Appeal in 1793 under the new system when with a view of affording the readiest possible means of relief to such as should be compelled to have recourse to judicial process, it was provided, that no expense whatever beyond the fee of the pleaders whom the parties might choose to entertain and the

